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ATTITUDES OF ZIONIST INTELLECTUALS TO THE ARAB POPULATION
IN PALESTINE AS EXPRESSED IN THE LITERATURE BEFORE THE
YOUNG TURK REVOLUTION OF 1908

New York University

Ph.D.

1980

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THE LITERATURE BEFORE THE YOUNG
TURK REVOLUTION OF 1908

BY

CHANA SOSEVSKY

October ~~JUNE~~ 1980

A DISSERTATION IN THE DEPARTMENT
OF HISTORY SUBMITTED TO THE
FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF ARTS AND SCIENCES IN PARTIAL
FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF
PHILOSOPHY AT NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

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approved
Carl M. Kutz
June 10, 1980

ABSTRACT

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by
Chana Sosevsky

thesis advisor: Professor Max Kortopeter

This study describes the attitudes of the Jewish intellectuals in Palestine and Europe to the Arab population in Palestine in the very early period of Zionist activity, beginning with the first Aliyah in 1881 until the Young Turk Revolution of 1908.

Following a brief introduction to the history of Zionism and Arab Nationalism, the works of Theodore Herzl and Ahad Haam are examined, as each provided impetus and leadership in terms of policy and attitudes. The periodic literature and the fiction of the period are then used to provide important insights into the temper of the time, while a discussion of the "conquest of labor" issue serves as a case study of a sensitive point of contact between the two peoples. A short epilogue points out that the 1908 Young Turk Revolution aroused a legitimate concern in the Jewish community about a hostility on the part of an organized and articulate nationalistic Arab community.

This thesis concludes that prior to 1908 Jews had been for the most part able to dismiss lightly the nationalistic flavor of the Arab aspirations in Palestine. Much of their literature therefore expresses a sympathetic and admiring attitude towards their neighbors. The literature also reflects their intuitive reaction

to one human dilemmas involved in the return of a nation to its
ancestral homeland which had been settled by another people.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	iii
INTRODUCTION.....	1
Zionism--The Birth of a Movement.....	4
The Rise of Arab Nationalism.....	24
Chapter	
I. JEWS AND ARABS IN PALESTINE AS REFLECTED IN THE WORKS OF AHAD HA'AM.....	38
II. THEODORE HERZL AND THE ARABS IN PALESTINE.....	51
III. ARAB-JEWISH RELATIONS IN THE PERIODICAL LITERA- TURE.....	71
IV. THE HEBREW BELLE LETTRES AND THE ARABS.....	92
V. CONQUEST OF LABOR--A CASE STUDY.....	117
EPILOGUE.....	148
CONCLUSION.....	156
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	161

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INTRODUCTION

The problematic nature of the relationship between Arabs and Jews in the Middle East has long been a subject of concern and analysis to politicians, world leaders and historians. A clear understanding of the evolution of that relationship is crucial before one can even attempt to explore the possibilities for future developments in the area.

This thesis proposes to describe the attitudes of the Jewish population in Palestine and of its leadership in Europe to the Arab population of Palestine as expressed through its periodic literature and belle lettres in the very early period of Zionist activity beginning with the First Aliya (1881) until the Young Turk Revolution of 1908. Until very recently research about the early Arab-Jewish literature has devoted itself to the period immediately preceding the first world war. Historians have often chosen to begin their studies with developments in 1908 since that year marked the end of the leadership of Sultan Abdul Hamid, beginning a period of nationalist ferment throughout the Ottoman Empire. Jews were able until that point to disregard the nationalist flavor of Arab hopes in the area and belittled the serious nature of Arab-Jewish conflict as it reflected itself in sporadic inter-community strife. After 1908 they were forced to recognize the reality of Arab hostilities on a new and more threatening

level.

To investigate the period before 1908, however, is to explore the feelings of Zionists toward the Arab people before they had become a major threat to the Zionist cause. It is to study their instinctive reactions to the moral and human dilemma involved in the settling of Jews in their ancient homeland, now occupied by another people.

Following a short introduction to the history of Zionism and Arab nationalism, this thesis will attempt to outline and describe the attitudes of early Zionists in Europe and in Palestine to the Arab population of Palestine as they were expressed in the literature. It will attempt to answer in part the question asked by many observers in that troubled area as to how the original formulators of Zionist policy and the first settlers viewed the realities of the situation and the possibilities for Arab-Jewish interaction. The work and memoirs of Theodore Herzl and Ahad Ha'am are crucial in such a study because each provided impetus and leadership in terms of policy and attitude. The periodicals of the period supply a direct impression of the attitudes amongst the intelligentsia and are especially important in that they were particularly influential in affecting the attitudes of a very literate population. The presentation of the Arab in Hebrew fiction affords illuminating insight into the emotional temper of the time. A last chapter devoted to the "conquest of labor" issue serves as a case study of a sensitive point of contact between the two peoples as represented in the Hebrew press.¹

¹Two comprehensive articles written about attitudes

in Hebrew periodical literature and fiction vis a vis the Arabs are Yosef Gorni's "The Roots of the Consciousness of the Arab-Jewish confrontation in the years 1900-1918" (Zionut 1974, pp. 73-110) and Isaac Barzilay's "The Arab in Modern Hebrew Literature: Image and Problem (1880-1918)" (Hebrew Studies, vol. 18, 1977, pp. 23-49). Both, however, use the end of World War I and the beginning of the British mandate as the closing date of their studies and find in that year a crucial turning point in Arab-Jewish relations. This study, on the other hand, finds an important change in the quality of Arab-Jewish relations as a result of the Young Turk Revolution in 1908.

Zionism--The Birth of a Movement

Zionism, deeply rooted in both Jewish religious experience, and in the development of nineteenth century European nationalism, has alternatively been defined as a religious movement, a secular messianic movement and as a nationalist movement.¹

The Orthodox Jew has, since the beginning of the Diaspora, prayed in the direction of Jerusalem and entreated three times daily for the return to Zion--Zion representing a spiritual condition as well as a geographically defined location.

According to Nachmanides, the prominent fourteenth century Biblical exegete and Talmudist, the injunction to inhabit the land of Israel, Mitzvat Yishuv Haaretz, is a divine command.² According to Maimonides, the twelfth century codifier and philosopher, while settling the land is not a Biblical injunction, the very fact that a significant portion of Biblical commands are dependent on one's presence in the Land of Israel, itself evidences the centrality of the land in Judaic religious practice.³

¹Arthur Hertzberg, The Zionist Idea, N.Y., , p. 17.

²Aryeh Newman, "The Centrality of Eretz Yisrael in Nachmanides," Tradition, Summer 1968, vol. 10, no. 1, pp. 21-31.

³Zvi Hirsch Kalischer whose views are discussed in more detail on page 10 of this chapter believed that because of Nachmanides' view it was incumbent upon all Jews to settle in

For the Satmar among other Chasidic sects worldwide and for the Neturei Karta sect in Israel, only the Messiah can summon the era during which the Jewish nation will resume its political existence and any attempt to create a Jewish state prior to his arrival constitutes sin.⁴

Many Orthodox Jews have become Zionists with the conviction that the era marking the formation of the State of Israel is the "beginning of the redemption" (Hatchalta D'geula) and that any Jew who contributes financially and actively to the State is helping in bringing about the messianic period.⁵

Secular Zionists define a return to Zion as a return to Palestine, not contingent upon the appearance of a messiah, nor upon any spiritual transformation. Zionism in this context is a nationalist movement.⁶

It is the purpose of this section of the Introduction to outline the history of secular Zionism in its Jewish

Palestine. See Sam N. Lehman-Wilzig, "Proto-Zionism and its Proto-Herzl: The Philosophy and Efforts of Rabbi Zvi Hirsch Kalischer," Tradition, Summer 1926, vol. 16, no. 1, pp. 56-57.

⁴Norman Lamm, "The Ideology of the Neturei Karta According to the Satmarer Version," Tradition, Fall 1971, vol. 13, no. 1, pp. 38-64.

⁵This view motivated Rabbi Yehuda Alkalai. See page 11 of this chapter.

⁶Reform Judaism traditionally saw itself firmly rooted in the milieu of Western Europe and the United States, defining Zion as any land where a Jew can be fully emancipated and fulfill his moral obligations according to the Jewish heritage. The more recent approach of Reform Judaism to the State of Israel has been strongly supportive, albeit in an entirely secularist framework.

context.⁷

One of the major causes for the advent of secular Zionism was the failure of the Enlightenment to bring about true emancipation for the Jew in Europe. Rationalism, the powerful intellectual force behind Enlightenment and the French Revolution was a system of thought which assumed that natural and human phenomena can be explained through reason. It stood in opposition to clericalism, to the ancien regime, and to persecution of minorities including the Jews. However, anti-Semitism was not totally foreign to the rationalist since he detested clannish superstition and obscurantism, all qualities commonly attributed to Jewish life.

In France, emancipation and the achievement of legal equality began in the wake of the French Revolution and was achieved in 1791. In 1794 there was an interlude of reaction and the Jews who were unfortunately associated with Robespierrean excesses became the targets of renewed anti-Semitism. This was especially true in Alsace-Lorraine where economic conditions were stringent and where Jewish moneylenders were

⁷ It is important to note that Zionism, understood as a movement encouraging the Jewish people to settle in Palestine, was not exclusively a Jewish phenomenon, and it originated much before the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries. Nachum Sokolow's two volume work, History of Zionism (London, 1919), describes in detail the Zionism of Bible-reading Englishmen who, during the 1600s, often studied the texts of Scriptures in the original Hebrew. These early Zionists desired to rebuild the Jewish nation in Palestine. It is interesting that many of those Christians also believed that Jews should further be allowed to enter England, which highlights the difference between their Zionism and the Zionism of nineteenth and twentieth century Christians who supported Jewish settlement in Palestine in order to prevent the settlement of Jewish refugees in their respective countries or in order not to have to grant emancipation to Jewish citizens. (Ben Halpern, The Idea of the Jewish State, Mass., 1961, ch. 8.)

responsible for many foreclosures.

In 1806 Napoleon convened the Sanhedrin, a meeting of Rabbis and prominent laymen and questioned them extensively regarding their loyalty to religion and state. The purpose of this strategy was to force Jewish leaders themselves to publically deny the nationalistic aspects of Judaism and to limit its scope to a purely religious field. Thus the statement emerged that the Jew was to allow nothing to stand between him and his full duty and devotion to the state which had emancipated him, allowing him in the realm of faith to maintain the concept of his chosenness and his dream of the Messiah.⁸

As a result of this proclamation Jews were promised equality under French law. The Jew continued to revere Napoleon as their great egalitarian redeemer despite the "Infamous Decree" of 1808 in which Jewish moneylending was condemned and the area in which Jews were permitted to reside was limited. Obviously only the memory of the Grand Sanhedrin and the Declaration of Emancipation made its mark upon the Jewish consciousness eager to be assured of its acceptance in European society.

A reactionary mood developed in the early nineteenth century which rejected the tenets of the Enlightenment and rationalism and adopted a Romantic perspective adoring the "fatherland" and the "folk." Politically the Congress of Vienna represented this mood of reaction and in most countries

⁸"Decisions Doctrinaires du Grand Sanhedrin," Paris, 1812, p. 5, quoted in Hertzberg, p. 22.

the Napoleonic reforms were abolished and the position of the Jew was once more endangered. It is not surprising that the trend toward nationalistic exclusiveness, anticosmopolitanism, and xenophobia bore along with it a new brand of anti-Semitism based on the Jew's status of stranger par excellence, rather than upon his religious beliefs. Western European Jews were naturally shocked by this turn toward anti-Semitism, but many chose to interpret it as a result of the incomplete assimilation and acculturation of the Jew into Western society. Many Jews in Germany now joined associations like the Zentralverein (Central Association of German Citizens of Jewish Persuasion) in an attempt to emphasize their allegiance to the state and their identity as Germans. Others chose conversion as the ultimate attempt toward assimilation into gentile society, convinced that only by denying totally the Jewish heritage can one become truly German or French.

While in Western Europe the position of the Jew was in constant flux since the advent of the French Revolution, progress and reform of any kind were slow to come to Russia and Eastern Europe and movement toward the emancipation of the Jew was almost at a standstill until the 1860s. It was only during the reign of Alexander II that a spirit of toleration seemed to signal a new era for Jews in Russia. Their hopes, already diminishing at the end of his reign when a conservative reaction developed, were dashed completely when a Jew was implicated in his assassination and pogroms resulted. Among the May Laws of 1882 were those forbidding the settling of Jews in rural areas, establishing a numerus clausus in the

Russian school system, limiting the number of Jews in the professions, and culminating in the eviction of the Jewish community from Moscow in 1891. Probably the gravest pogrom of all occurred in Kishinev at the beginning of the twentieth century (1903), encouraged by the Black Hundred and other rightist groups and at best ignored, if not actually encouraged by the Czarist government.⁹

As a result of the slower rate of emancipation in Eastern Europe, the intellectual life of the Eastern Jewish community also developed differently. Whereas the German and French Jews admired and emulated the sophisticated cultural life about them, backward Russian culture failed to inspire its emulation by the Jewish community.¹⁰ Therefore, the Romanticism of the nineteenth century moved many Eastern European Jews to reach out to their own heritage rather than to become part of the Russian nation. Study of the Hebrew language and classical Jewish texts flourished. While the reform period of Alexander II brought about movement toward Russification among Jews, encouraging them to behave as Jews in the privacy of their home and as Russians in their public and professional lives, conversion never became as prevalent in Russia as it had become in the West. A reaction against

⁹ April 6-7, 1903 and again October 19-20, 1905.

¹⁰ In his discussion of Jewish nationalism, Howard Morley Sachar, in The Course of Modern Jewish History, stresses his disagreement with those historians who lay great emphasis on anti-Semitism as the cause of the birth of the Zionist movement. For Sachar the influence of other nationalist movements and the Romantic Era were the more important factors.

Russification, especially by poets like Peretz Smolenskin, coincided with the end of the liberal era of Alexander II. Smolenskin likened those who denigrated the Jewish tradition to thieves who rob the Jewish people of both the crutch of nationalism and of religion and are then astounded to see it fall.¹¹ His call was initially only for the return to Jewish pride and became a demand for the return to Palestine only after the pogroms of the 1880s.

Although the history of modern Zionism begins in effect in the late nineteenth century with the development of the Hibbat Zion movement and with Herzl's commitment to the cause, there were earlier in the century cogent and explicit expressions of the Zionist ideal.

Moses Hess, a German born Jew, exiled to France, wrote Rome and Jerusalem in 1862. A man of Bohemian lifestyle and largely non-Jewish involvements, Hess became disillusioned with the quality of the revolutions of 1848. He predated Herzl in his keen understanding of the problem of anti-Semitism and in his arrival at the conclusion that only a land of their own would solve the Jews' problem in Europe. Hess noted the change in the nature of nationalism from the "liberal nationalism" of the Enlightenment era to the "romantic nationalism" which spoke to the national soul and the history of the folk. In the development of "romantic nationalism" it seemed to Hess that the hope of assimilationist Jewry and of the Reform Jewish movement to achieve acceptance and emancipation

¹¹ Peretz Smolenskin, "The Haskalah of Berlin," 1883, quoted in Hertzberg, p. 155.

died. How can a Jew share in the folk history of another nation?¹²

Rabbi Yehuda Alkalai (1798-1878) and Rabbi Zvi Hirsch Kalischer (1795-1875) spoke to the religious problem involving the nature of messianic intervention and the return to Zion. Both were deeply influenced by nationalist movements in Italy, Germany, the Balkans and Poland. They claimed that Jewish nationalists must precede the Messiah in beginning Jewish settlements in Palestine and thus speed his arrival. In Seeking Zion (Drishat Zion), published by Kalischer in 1862, he writes,

My dear reader! Cast aside the conventional view that the Messiah will suddenly sound a blast on the great trumpet and cause all the inhabitants of the earth to tremble. On the contrary, the Redemption will begin by awakening the support among philanthropists and by gaining the consent of the nations to the gathering of some of the scattered of Israel into the Holy Land.¹³

These three forerunners of Zionism were uniformly ignored by the Jewish community. In fact, Herzl later claimed that he had never read Rome and Jerusalem, a tract which so closely echoed his own thinking. Hess, Alkalai and Kalischer all spoke of Zionism at a time when the Jews of Western Europe were only beginning to feel the sweet taste of emancipation and when it was so important for the Jew to loudly declare his German, or French identity. The Orthodox world ignored

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anti-Semitism became a burning national issue.

A very new and seminal factor in the spread of anti-Semitism was racism, a pseudo-scientific approach to the origin of peoples and their qualities. Proponents of the myth of Aryan superiority were Count Joseph Arthur Gobineau, the prophet of racism, the composer Richard Wagner, and Houston Stuart Chamberlain, who in his Foundations of the Nineteenth Century sought to prove that all valuable contributions to society were in effect due to the Aryan personality. Nietzsche's works, while not essentially racist, were easily distorted for propagandist purposes.

The attitude of enlightenment-oriented Jewry toward the recurrence of anti-Semitism trends in the early nineteenth century had generally been that Jews had obviously not assimilated enough into the society among which they lived and that they had not yet proven that they would be a constructive and cooperative element in society. This attitude, while defensive, was yet optimistic for there was the implied hope that through its own efforts Jewry would be able to bring about its own emancipation. Whereas anti-Semitism had traditionally been on religious and cultural grounds and therefore escapable through conversion, the newer concepts of national characteristics and racism barred the avenues of escape to the Jew. It became imperative for the Jew to attempt to deal with the problems of his Jewishness more affirmatively.

Two events, the pogroms of the 1880s in Russia, and the Dreyfus scandal in France, highlighted the naiveté of attempts to escape one's Jewish origins. In the desperate efforts

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These three forerunners of Zionism were uniformly ignored by the Jewish community. In fact, Herzl later claimed that he had never read Rome and Jerusalem, a tract which so closely echoed his own thinking. Hess, Alkalai and Kalischer all spoke of Zionism at a time when the Jews of Western Europe were only beginning to feel the sweet taste of emancipation and when it was so important for the Jew to loudly declare his German, or French identity. The Orthodox world ignored

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and confidence can be corrected only by establishing a homeland preferably with the help of cultured and moneyed Jewry in Western Europe. In regard to the location of the Jewish homeland, he insists that while Palestine is preferable, the Jew must relocate to any other hospitable area if necessary.

Pinsker found an audience among Jewish intellectuals now rejecting enlightened assimilation. It is interesting to note that while pogroms had previously occurred in Russia, it was only during the 1880s that Jewish intellectuals felt propelled toward nationalism rather than toward more extreme assimilation. The pogroms of the 1880s, unlike those which had preceded them, had the approval of journalists, university students, and the Russian intelligentsia. The enlightened university-educated Jews, who had always felt that they had more in common with educated Russians than with their poverty-stricken fellow Jew, now realized that anti-Semitism was common to all classes and that within Russian society the Jew can find no haven. Jewish students, comforting weeping fellow Jews in a synagogue in Kiev following the massacre, expressed the following emotion:

We are your brothers, we are Jews like you. We regret and repent that we considered ourselves Russians and not Jews until now. The events of the past weeks--the pogroms in Eliaavetgrad, in Balta, here in Kiev and in other cities have shown us how tragically we were mistaken. Yes, we are Jews.¹⁸

Among those who harkened eagerly to Pinsker's impassioned plea were members of the Hibbat Zion groups (Love of

¹⁸Abraham Cahan, Bletter Fun Mein Leben, 1926, vol. 1, p. 500, quoted in Halpern, p. 62.

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his relationship with the settlers, especially in regard to their essential goals of independence and social equality, was unfortunate. In time, these early settlers became not very different from ordinary plantation owners, using cheap hired labor and working for commercial profit.²²

In Europe the 1884 Kattowitz Congress of the Hibbat Zion movement set up the machinery which was to represent Zionist activity in the East until the first World War. Pinsker was elected President at that meeting but although such slogans as "return to the soil" were stressed, the organization became involved in relatively petty issues and was never able to effectively clarify the scope of its activity. One of the many problems besetting the organization was a lack of cohesiveness and wranglings between the orthodox element, the secularists and the cultural Zionists which served to severely limit its contribution toward the Zionist cause.

Whereas there existed in Eastern Europe a deep longing for Palestine and a passionate nationalistic feeling among many Jews, the institutions designed to deal with Palestinian settlements were highly ineffective, and it was only when Zionism became a burning ideal in the West that effective moves were made to turn the dream of the return to Zion into a reality. The Dreyfus trial and scandal of 1894-1898 was that traumatic event which proved to many Western Jews that anti-Semitism was and would forever be a burden and barrier to Jewish emancipation.

²²See chapter on Conquest of Labor, p. 118.

Zionism--The Birth of a Movement

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³Zvi Hirsch Kalischer whose views are discussed in more detail on page 10 of this chapter believed that because of Nachmanides' view it was incumbent upon all Jews to settle in

great problem facing his people. In 1896 he published The Jewish State (Der Judenstat), a concise statement of the necessity of the founding of the Jewish state as the only means by which to rid both the Jews and the non-Jewish community of the curse of anti-Semitism.²³

Rejected by the wealthy and prestigious Western Jews, Herzl found support and love amongst the masses in England and in Eastern Europe where thousands lined the streets as he drove through their cities. A passionate nationalism elicited by his magnetic appeal and timely message in effect created the Zionist movement. The First Zionist Congress of 1897 was marvelously attended and the number of communities and Zionist-oriented groups and organizations represented grew at each succeeding conference.

During ensuing congresses rifts became apparent between different factions in the Zionist movement. It was divided along both religious and philosophical lines. Ahad Ha'am (1856-1927) represented the spiritual or cultural Zionists who emphasized the need for a spiritual rather than a political home in Palestine. Herzl led the "political Zionists" who insisted that a charter was the one important factor in creating the state. The Hibbat Zion movement represented the "practical Zionists" to whom emigration and working the soil was primary.

It was becoming increasingly clear after 1897 that the various factions were pulling the movement in different

²³For additional details concerning Herzl's Zionist career, see the chapter on Herzl.

died. How can a Jew share in the folk history of another nation?¹²

Rabbi Yehuda Alkalai (1798-1878) and Rabbi Zvi Hirsch Kalischer (1795-1875) spoke to the religious problem involving the nature of messianic intervention and the return to Zion. Both were deeply influenced by nationalist movements in Italy, Germany, the Balkans and Poland. They claimed that Jewish nationalists must precede the Messiah in beginning Jewish settlements in Palestine and thus speed his arrival. In Seeking Zion (Drishat Zion), published by Kalischer in 1862, he writes,

My dear reader! Cast aside the conventional view that the Messiah will suddenly sound a blast on the great trumpet and cause all the inhabitants of the earth to tremble. On the contrary, the Redemption will begin by awakening the support among philanthropists and by gaining the consent of the nations to the gathering of some of the scattered of Israel into the Holy Land.¹³

These three forerunners of Zionism were uniformly ignored by the Jewish community. In fact, Herzl later claimed that he had never read Rome and Jerusalem, a tract which so closely echoed his own thinking. Hess, Alkalai and Kalischer all spoke of Zionism at a time when the Jews of Western Europe were only beginning to feel the sweet taste of emancipation and when it was so important for the Jew to loudly declare his German, or French identity. The Orthodox world ignored

¹²Hess apparently had more hope for French Jewry, where it seemed that "liberal nationalism" would predominate and less hope for Jews in Germany where the nationalism had assumed a very romantic tone.

¹³Zvi Hirsch Kalischer, Drishat Zion (Seeking Zion), 1862, quoted in Hertzberg, p. 111.

such as Aaron David Gordon who urged that manual labor has resuscitating effects upon national groups, and Nahman Syrkin and Ber Borochov, who emphasized the socialist goals of the new settlements provided the ideology which inspired the olim to tenaciously adhere to their plans despite the hardships they faced.

Zionism, most often defined as Jewish nationalism differs from other nationalist movements in various ways.²⁶

Aliya to establish agricultural settlements in Palestine rather than engage in trade or commerce which had been particularly Jewish occupations in Europe was an interesting phenomenon stemming from several trends in the Jewish experience. Firstly, the Jewish national memory of ancient Palestine before the Diaspora was of an agricultural society. Prayers, recited three times daily, beseeched G-d for timely rains and rich harvests. Although Russian immigrants had forsaken traditional orthodoxy in their young adult lives the impact of these strong images remained with them. The nineteenth century Hebrew literary revival in Europe glorified the old Jewish agricultural tradition, lyrically describing the strong ancient Jewish nation, living peacefully and prosperously on its fertile land. When in the late nineteenth century the agriculturally based Narodnik movement gained popularity in Russia²⁷ attraction of Jewish revolutionaries, the soil was again strengthened. In addition the olim of the first and second aliyot were in their immigration closing the door on their European pasts, and rejecting the trades which they felt had debased their people in Russia and Europe and had engendered the anti-Semitism from which they were now fleeing.

²⁶ Halpern provides, in chapter 4 of his book, an excellent discussion of the differences between Zionism and different forms of nationalism upon which the following section is based.

While national movements generally express themselves in a struggle for independence and sovereignty over a land in which at least a large portion of the population dwells, for the Zionist movement no such land existed. This situation was complicated by the differences in opinion among Zionists as to whether the goal of political sovereignty, which is assumed to be the essential principle of all other national movements, is most important to Zionism. For Herzl, for example, settlement was worthless without the political charter while Ahad Ha'am insisted that a spiritual center was primary.

Whereas nationalist movements generally seek to revive lethargic national feelings, Zionism had to do battle with two very viable and energetic positions, orthodox and reform movements in Judaism. Both at various times were vociferously opposed to the fledgling movement.

Is Zionism tied to the physical entity of Palestine? On that issue too there existed a variance of opinion. Ideologists such as Ahad Ha'am, Borochoy and Gordon felt that only in Palestine can the Jew feel at home and that there existed in the Jewish national memory a longing for its old land. Pinsker and Herzl, while admitting the validity of these ideas, nevertheless insisted that in order to insure its survival the Jew might be forced to create a new national home.

In 1908, the challenges facing the Zionist movement were many. Relations between the movement and the non-Jewish world were difficult and even relations between Zionists and the Jewish community at large were not simple. Burdened as

the movement was with divisiveness in its own ranks it remained to be seen whether a momentum could be established to realize its aims.

the Napoleonic reforms were abolished and the position of the Jew was once more endangered. It is not surprising that the trend toward nationalistic exclusiveness, anticosmopolitanism, and xenophobia bore along with it a new brand of anti-Semitism based on the Jew's status of stranger par excellence, rather than upon his religious beliefs. Western European Jews were naturally shocked by this turn toward anti-Semitism, but many chose to interpret it as a result of the incomplete assimilation and acculturation of the Jew into Western society. Many Jews in Germany now joined associations like the Zentralverein (Central Association of German Citizens of Jewish Persuasion) in an attempt to emphasize their allegiance to the state and their identity as Germans. Others chose conversion as the ultimate attempt toward assimilation into gentile society, convinced that only by denying totally the Jewish heritage can one become truly German or French.

While in Western Europe the position of the Jew was in constant flux since the advent of the French Revolution, progress and reform of any kind were slow to come to Russia and Eastern Europe and movement toward the emancipation of the Jew was almost at a standstill until the 1860s. It was only during the reign of Alexander II that a spirit of toleration seemed to signal a new era for Jews in Russia. Their hopes, already diminishing at the end of his reign when a conservative reaction developed, were dashed completely when a Jew was implicated in his assassination and pogroms resulted. Among the May Laws of 1882 were those forbidding the settling of Jews in rural areas, establishing a numerus clausus in the

his relationship with the settlers, especially in regard to their essential goals of independence and social equality, was unfortunate. In time, these early settlers became not very different from ordinary plantation owners, using cheap hired labor and working for commercial profit.²²

In Europe the 1884 Kattowitz Congress of the Hibbat Zion movement set up the machinery which was to represent Zionist activity in the East until the first World War. Pinsker was elected President at that meeting but although such slogans as "return to the soil" were stressed, the organization became involved in relatively petty issues and was never able to effectively clarify the scope of its activity. One of the many problems besetting the organization was a lack of cohesiveness and wranglings between the orthodox element, the secularists and the cultural Zionists which served to severely limit its contribution toward the Zionist cause.

Whereas there existed in Eastern Europe a deep longing for Palestine and a passionate nationalistic feeling among many Jews, the institutions designed to deal with Palestinian settlements were highly ineffective, and it was only when Zionism became a burning ideal in the West that effective moves were made to turn the dream of the return to Zion into a reality. The Dreyfus trial and scandal of 1894-1898 was that traumatic event which proved to many Western Jews that anti-Semitism was and would forever be a burden and barrier to Jewish emancipation.

²²See chapter on Conquest of Labor, p. 118.

their very special status within Islam. This awareness can be defined as their Arab consciousness. When this consciousness became the basis of their demands for political rights, Arab nationalism was born.³

In attempting to assess the influence of early nineteenth century personalities and events on the evolution of Arab nationalism one cannot overlook the effect of Napoleon, the Wahhabis, and Muhammad Ali on the Arab people. Napoleon, who arrived in Egypt in 1798, was crucial in that he shocked the Middle East out of a period of stagnation into a confrontation with the Western world, its power, and its culture. The arrival of the printing press, which helped return to the Arabs their own literary tradition, and the resentment Napoleon inspired against the encroachment of Western influence, perhaps helped sow the seeds of Arab consciousness and discontent.⁴

A very early phenomenon, often described as the initial manifestation of nationalism in Arabia was the Wahhabi movement which was a concentrated attack on the religious laxity of the Ottoman government and Sultan and the influence of the ungodly West. Although the Wahhabi movement was religious in scope, calling for the return to the purity of an earlier era in Islam, it remained significant in that it recalled

³Yehoshua Porath, The Emergence of the Palestinian-Arab National Movement, 1918-1929, London, 1974, p. 20.

⁴Hisham Sharabi, Arab Intellectuals and the West, Baltimore, 1970, p. 35.

an age of Arab supremacy.

To the student of Arab history, perhaps the most obvious manifestation of Arab nationalism at its early stage is the rise and success of Mumammad Ali and his son Ibrahim. During Muhammad Ali's political and military career he rose to the position of Pasha of Egypt in 1805, conquered Syria in 1831, and was granted the hereditary title of Pasha of Egypt in 1841. Under his leadership the Egyptian administration became politically, economically, and militarily almost autonomous.

In Syria the earliest forums for discussion of nationalism and related concepts were the Learned Societies of the 1850s. The Society of Arts and Sciences and the Oriental Society were composed primarily of Christian Arabs; the Syrian Scientific Society formed in 1857 included Arabs of all religious denominations. Of this group Antonius says that it was "the first outward manifestation of a collective national consciousness and its importance in history is that it was the cradle of a new political movement."⁵ It was the Secret Society of Beirut (1875), however, which was the first group formed with the explicit purpose of publicizing nationalist thought. Composed originally of Christians, it eventually attracted Moslems and Druze as well. The Placard Society, which seems to have worked in conjunction with the Secret Society, exhibited posters, the authorship of which remained forever unknown, calling the Arab nation to revolution.

⁵Antonius, The Arab Awakening, pp. 51-54.

The extent of the effect of the Secret Society on Arab nationalism is frequently debated among historians. The general consensus is that both the Secret Society and the Placard Society were premature in their assumption of strong nationalist feeling among the Syrians and the Lebanese. According to a resident of Beirut during those years, the main reaction to the placards was curiosity as to their authorship, and a general opinion that these declarations were but a symptom of Arab unrest in light of Turkish misrule.⁶ It is probable that the placards did give direction to many complaints against oppression,⁷ but there seems to have been a definite reluctance to make a complete break with Turkey.

The history of early and mid-nineteenth century Lebanon created an ambiance of restlessness, dissatisfaction, and openness to Western thought which are essential to the success of nationalist activity. A major factor in Lebanese history had always been an unusually constant contact with the West. Special relationships existed between various religious groups and different Western countries. For example, France represented the Malakite and Maronite interests while the Druze were protected by Great Britain. The many educational institutions established by Western missionaries produced a great number of literate Christian Lebanese, who became

⁶Zeine N. Zeine, The Emergence of Arab Nationalism, N.Y., 1958, pp. 58-59. Zeine quotes from Consul General John Dickson's correspondence from Beirut to the British Ambassador in Constantinople. (Great Britain, Foreign Office, 195/1368 Dispatch #3, Conf., Beyrout, 17 January 1881.)

⁷Antonius, The Arab Awakening, pp. 79-84.

Russification, especially by poets like Peretz Smolenskin, coincided with the end of the liberal era of Alexander II. Smolenskin likened those who denigrated the Jewish tradition to thieves who rob the Jewish people of both the crutch of nationalism and of religion and are then astounded to see it fall.¹¹ His call was initially only for the return to Jewish pride and became a demand for the return to Palestine only after the pogroms of the 1880s.

Although the history of modern Zionism begins in effect in the late nineteenth century with the development of the Hibbat Zion movement and with Herzl's commitment to the cause, there were earlier in the century cogent and explicit expressions of the Zionist ideal.

Moses Hess, a German born Jew, exiled to France, wrote Rome and Jerusalem in 1862. A man of Bohemian lifestyle and largely non-Jewish involvements, Hess became disillusioned with the quality of the revolutions of 1848. He predated Herzl in his keen understanding of the problem of anti-Semitism and in his arrival at the conclusion that only a land of their own would solve the Jews' problem in Europe. Hess noted the change in the nature of nationalism from the "liberal nationalism" of the Enlightenment era to the "romantic nationalism" which spoke to the national soul and the history of the folk. In the development of "romantic nationalism" it seemed to Hess that the hope of assimilationist Jewry and of the Reform Jewish movement to achieve acceptance and emancipation

¹¹ Peretz Smolenskin, "The Haskalah of Berlin," 1883, quoted in Hertzberg, p. 155.

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The construction of the Hijaz railway, the purpose of which was the collection of taxes amongst the Arab population and the elimination of transportation problems for the pilgrimage, also helped strengthen the flow of communication amongst the various Arab nationalist groups. Arabs received excellent military training under German specialists like Colonel Von der Goltz, who was recruited by Abdul Hamid to strengthen the Ottoman military machine. Later these officers took on leadership roles in various battles for independence.¹¹

In regard to the relationship of Arabs to the Young Turks, it is interesting that those Arabs who did join the movement in 1908 did so in terms of their Ottoman citizenship and not as Arab nationalists. They looked forward to a period of equality and democracy under Ottoman rule. When the Young Turks almost immediately after the revolution began to dwell on Turkish nationalism and on Turkish ethnic qualities, many Arabs were forced to develop similar attitudes and to use similar tactics in regard to their own culture and heritage.

As the nineteenth century drew towards its close, the influence of the intellectuals on the Muslim community strengthened in the direction of promoting Islamic and Arab pride and thus inadvertently supporting nationalist activity. Much of the intellectual activity during that period was a response to the challenge of superior Western technology and military

¹¹Ibid., pp. 77-78.

strength.¹²

Jamal al-Din al-Afghani (1839-1897), the originator of the Pan-Islamic movement, emphasized the acceptability of reason in Islam which accords much dignity to man and to the possibilities of human endeavor. He wrote that since the Islamic world had failed to develop properly because of Turkish misrule, it can only regain its former glory and fulfill its potential if it finds internal unity. Assabiyya, solidarity as expressed in the Pan-Islamic movement, was to al-Afghani the only means by which the Islamic world could ever compete successfully with the West.

Muhammad Abduh (1849-1905), one of al-Afghani's most prominent followers and colleagues, supported a Salafiyya, a recalling of the ways of the ancestors in order to unify all Moslems. For Abduh it represented the most effective method of stripping Islam of dogma and superstition, in order to arrive at a pure Islam which accepted reason and was open to change. Only a purified Islam could conceivably compete with a rationalist and technologically sophisticated West.

For Rashid Rida (d. 1935), one of Abduh's most influential disciples, the only significance of Salafiyya lay in its power to return Moslems to a purer form of worship. The contribution of Abduh and Rashid Rida was essentially in their strong

¹²C. Ernest Dawn distinguishes between different types of reactions to the challenge of Western technology. The conservative Moslem insists that the Islamic world is superior and continues to reject any attempts at Westernization. Some admit to some inferiority in the Moslem world but insist that a return to a purer form of Islam would enable the Moslems to compete with the West. Abduh and other such thinkers insist that Islam must accept the changing world and become part of it. (C. Ernest Dawn, From Ottomanism to Arabism, Illinois, 1973, pp. 122-147.)

Russian school system, limiting the number of Jews in the professions, and culminating in the eviction of the Jewish community from Moscow in 1891. Probably the gravest pogrom of all occurred in Kishinev at the beginning of the twentieth century (1903), encouraged by the Black Hundred and other rightist groups and at best ignored, if not actually encouraged by the Czarist government.⁹

As a result of the slower rate of emancipation in Eastern Europe, the intellectual life of the Eastern Jewish community also developed differently. Whereas the German and French Jews admired and emulated the sophisticated cultural life about them, backward Russian culture failed to inspire its emulation by the Jewish community.¹⁰ Therefore, the Romanticism of the nineteenth century moved many Eastern European Jews to reach out to their own heritage rather than to become part of the Russian nation. Study of the Hebrew language and classical Jewish texts flourished. While the reform period of Alexander II brought about movement toward Russification among Jews, encouraging them to behave as Jews in the privacy of their home and as Russians in their public and professional lives, conversion never became as prevalent in Russia as it had become in the West. A reaction against

⁹ April 6-7, 1903 and again October 19-20, 1905.

¹⁰ In his discussion of Jewish nationalism, Howard Morley Sachar, in The Course of Modern Jewish History, stresses his disagreement with those historians who lay great emphasis on anti-Semitism as the cause of the birth of the Zionist movement. For Sachar the influence of other nationalist movements and the Romantic Era were the more important factors.

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Whereas Kamil was militantly anti-British and pro-Ottoman and French, Lufti al-Sayyid (b. 1872) spoke from the perspective of moderate nationalism. He proposed to utilize the vast experience of the British administration in preparing his people for ultimate independence. Before independence could be achieved a national consciousness had to be developed and the "national characteristics" of the Egyptian people had to be modified. He saw his countrymen as weak of character, lacking an independence of spirit, and having a totally self-defeating attitude to authority. These flaws he claimed resulted from Egypt's history of servility.

The movements of Arab and Egyptian nationalism were each unique and separate, the Egyptians emphasizing the particular aspects of their heritage as opposed to Arabic tradition. There were, however, important areas of cooperation which influenced the development of both movements. Nationalist leaders in Egypt such as Mustafa Kamil and Lutfi al-Sayyid, through their charisma and techniques¹⁷ had impact on nationalist groups in the Middle East. Because the press was severely censored in Arab lands much of the ideology and propaganda of Arab nationalism was developed within Egypt by Syrian and Lebanese emigres. This affected Egyptian thought especially through the introduction of French liberalism into Egyptian culture, while it allowed Arab nationalist writings to be smuggled into Arab lands. Al-Mugattaf, a journal established in 1887 and Al-Hillal, established in 1892, were

¹⁷Mustafa Kamil, for example, felt free to exploit and encourage the activism of student groups, as in the 1906 law school strike.

For the Satmar among other Chasidic sects worldwide and for the Neturei Karta sect in Israel, only the Messiah can summon the era during which the Jewish nation will resume its political existence and any attempt to create a Jewish state prior to his arrival constitutes sin.⁴

Many Orthodox Jews have become Zionists with the conviction that the era marking the formation of the State of Israel is the "beginning of the redemption" (Hatchalta D'geula) and that any Jew who contributes financially and actively to the State is helping in bringing about the messianic period.⁵

Secular Zionists define a return to Zion as a return to Palestine, not contingent upon the appearance of a messiah, nor upon any spiritual transformation. Zionism in this context is a nationalist movement.⁶

It is the purpose of this section of the Introduction to outline the history of secular Zionism in its Jewish

Palestine. See Sam N. Lehman-Wilzig, "Proto-Zionism and its Proto-Herzl: The Philosophy and Efforts of Rabbi Zvi Hirsch Kalischer," Tradition, Summer 1926, vol. 16, no. 1, pp. 56-57.

⁴Norman Lamm, "The Ideology of the Neturei Karta According to the Satmarer Version," Tradition, Fall 1971, vol. 13, no. 1, pp. 38-64.

⁵This view motivated Rabbi Yehuda Alkalai. See page 11 of this chapter.

⁶Reform Judaism traditionally saw itself firmly rooted in the milieu of Western Europe and the United States, defining Zion as any land where a Jew can be fully emancipated and fulfill his moral obligations according to the Jewish heritage. The more recent approach of Reform Judaism to the State of Israel has been strongly supportive, albeit in an entirely secularist framework.

The extent of the effect of the Secret Society on Arab nationalism is frequently debated among historians. The general consensus is that both the Secret Society and the Placard Society were premature in their assumption of strong nationalist feeling among the Syrians and the Lebanese. According to a resident of Beirut during those years, the main reaction to the placards was curiosity as to their authorship, and a general opinion that these declarations were but a symptom of Arab unrest in light of Turkish misrule.⁶ It is probable that the placards did give direction to many complaints against oppression,⁷ but there seems to have been a definite reluctance to make a complete break with Turkey.

The history of early and mid-nineteenth century Lebanon created an ambiance of restlessness, dissatisfaction, and openness to Western thought which are essential to the success of nationalist activity. A major factor in Lebanese history had always been an unusually constant contact with the West. Special relationships existed between various religious groups and different Western countries. For example, France represented the Malakite and Maronite interests while the Druze were protected by Great Britain. The many educational institutions established by Western missionaries produced a great number of literate Christian Lebanese, who became

⁶Zeine N. Zeine, The Emergence of Arab Nationalism, N.Y., 1958, pp. 58-59. Zeine quotes from Consul General John Dickson's correspondence from Beirut to the British Ambassador in Constantinople. (Great Britain, Foreign Office, 195/1368 Dispatch #3, Conf., Beyrout, 17 January 1881.)

⁷Antonius, The Arab Awakening, pp. 79-84.

responsible for many foreclosures.

In 1806 Napoleon convened the Sanhedrin, a meeting of Rabbis and prominent laymen and questioned them extensively regarding their loyalty to religion and state. The purpose of this strategy was to force Jewish leaders themselves to publically deny the nationalistic aspects of Judaism and to limit its scope to a purely religious field. Thus the statement emerged that the Jew was to allow nothing to stand between him and his full duty and devotion to the state which had emancipated him, allowing him in the realm of faith to maintain the concept of his chosenness and his dream of the Messiah.⁸

As a result of this proclamation Jews were promised equality under French law. The Jew continued to revere Napoleon as their great egalitarian redeemer despite the "Infamous Decree" of 1808 in which Jewish moneylending was condemned and the area in which Jews were permitted to reside was limited. Obviously only the memory of the Grand Sanhedrin and the Declaration of Emancipation made its mark upon the Jewish consciousness eager to be assured of its acceptance in European society.

A reactionary mood developed in the early nineteenth century which rejected the tenets of the Enlightenment and rationalism and adopted a Romantic perspective adoring the "fatherland" and the "folk." Politically the Congress of Vienna represented this mood of reaction and in most countries

⁸"Decisions Doctrinaires du Grand Sanhedrin," Paris, 1812, p. 5, quoted in Hertzberg, p. 22.

well.

Ahad Ha'am's most significant contribution to Zionist ideology became known as "spiritual Zionism." Well understanding the obliqueness of the concept, he explained that he meant Palestinian society to be "the expression in matter and space of the thought and culture of a people."⁶ Ahad Ha'am saw the Jewish nation as distinct in regard to its moral nature. He believed strongly in the Jewish mission to point out to all other nations the true essence of morality and justice. Unlike leaders in the Reform movement who believed that the Jews could accomplish this mission only through permanent dispersion in the Diaspora, Ahad Ha'am felt that the mission had to be discharged by founding a society with high standards of morality, ethics and justice. Recognizing that it was impossible to settle all Jews in Palestine, he proposed to establish there a spiritual center which would radiate its values to a greater part of the Jewish people in the Diaspora. He explained,

The object of the movement is only to create for our people a national center, the influence of which on the Diaspora, will be spiritual only in the sense that it will strengthen the morale, increase their sense of unity,⁷ and provide a suitable context for their life as Jews.

In practice, Ahad Ha'am's spiritual Zionism affected his stance on matters of policy in Palestine. In discussing the issue of creating a totally Jewish labor force, for example, Ahad Ha'am explained why it was not crucial in his

⁶Bentwich, Ahad Ha'am and his Philosophy, Jerusalem, 1927, p. 19.

⁷Ibid., pp. 11, 19.

view of cultural rather than political Zionism to capture the entire labor market. He wrote,

I do not ask for instance what is the use of a Hebrew colony which employs Arab labor and not exclusively Jewish labor. That question is important if we regard the present yishuv as the foundation of a state. But if we look at it only from my point of view, asking how it can influence the spirit of the people as a whole, this drawback, serious though it is, cannot be regarded as fatal. If a large number of settlements of a truly Hebrew character are established, there is no doubt that they will have a great influence on Jewish life, even if they don't employ exclusively Jewish labor.⁸

While Herzl was most concerned with the political viability of Jewish settlement in Palestine and denied the usefulness of any efforts at enlarging the Yishuv until a charter had been attained, Ahad Ha'am felt that a successful limited settlement in Palestine was crucial in order to psychologically orient the Jewish people toward pride in their national heritage. Herzl's major concern was on behalf of oppressed Jews; Ahad Ha'am's interests centered upon the plight of a beleaguered Judaism. Fortunately in the beginning of the twentieth century Zionism was able to integrate the values and aims of both cultural or spiritual Zionism as expressed by Ahad Ha'am and Herzl's political Zionism.

Ahad Ha'am's impact on young Zionists of his generation was powerful, although his views were unpopular with those leaders who differed sharply with him on the issues of Zionist policy. He seemed to lack an appreciation of the emotional appeal and romance of the Zionist cause and was referred to as a "detached seer" and "moral conscience" who

⁸L. Simon, Letters, Essays, and Memoirs, London, 1946, p. 260. (Letter to M. Dizengoff, London, 1912.)

often seemed like "a mourner at a wedding feast."⁹ In an essay entitled "Moses" written in 1904, Ahad Ha'am commented that the prophet, the man of truth, must "concentrate heart and mind on his ideal" the righteousness of which cannot be subverted for matters of temporary expedience "even at bidding of love or pity."¹⁰ He comments, however, that when the time comes when the ideal must be embodied into action half measures and compromise become essential, and the prophet keeps silent. Ahad Ha'am obviously recognized that his ultra-moralistic position would at times become impractical, and that in striving to achieve Zionist goals bold strides would be taken which perforce would involve human weakness and moral susceptibility.

For Ahad Ha'am the Arab presence in Palestine was strong and crucially important. He saw the Arab population as an obstacle to the regeneration of the Jewish spirit in the ancient homeland. An unpopulated land would have been preferable in establishing a national home for the Jewish culture which, in its newly reborn state, needs to be nondefensive and not susceptible to the impact of a foreign environment. Why did he nevertheless insist that the spiritual center of Judaism be reconstituted specifically in Palestine? He answers that while centuries ago the Jewish nation had been vigorously able to create a new national center, they now

⁹Bentwich, p. 11.

¹⁰Ahad Ha'am, "Moses," Hans Kahn, Nationalism and the Jewish Ethic, New York, 1962, p. 212.

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⁷Antonius, The Arab Awakening, pp. 79-84.

great patriots and zealots for their religion and government and in questions which relate to the honor of one of these they will fulfill their duty faithfully and no amount of money will influence them.¹³

In regards to the settlements in Palestine Ahad Ha'am was sharply critical of both practical and theoretical aspects of yishuv development. In "This is not the Way" he disapprovingly refers to olim who had emigrated for financial reasons and who, confronting outstanding hardships, attempted to

gain their individual ends by all means in their power and regardless of any distinctions between what is legitimate and what is not, or of the fair name of the ideal which they dishonor.¹⁴

In "Truth from Palestine", he refers directly to Arab-Jewish relations expressing fear that a historically oppressed nation might handle its newly found freedom irresponsibly and that the "serfs of yesterday" might become despots.¹⁵

Ahad Ha'am was quite consistent in his position that Jew and Arab allow one another the opportunity to flourish in Palestine. He made equal demands upon both peoples in this respect. A short digression into the period after 1908 where this study ends, well illustrates this point.

When in 1917 the Jewish community of the Diaspora and Palestine exultantly received news of the Balfour Declaration which gave legal international sanction to Jewish settlement in Palestine, Ahad Ha'am saw both the moral and practical limitations of the document although he joyfully applauded it.

¹³ Ibid., p. 33.

¹⁴ Ahad Ha'am, "Lo Zo Haderech" (This is not the Way), in Simon, Ten Essays, New York, 1973, pp. 13-14.

¹⁵ Hans Kahn, pp. 34-43.

great problem facing his people. In 1896 he published The Jewish State (Der Judenstat), a concise statement of the necessity of the founding of the Jewish state as the only means by which to rid both the Jews and the non-Jewish community of the curse of anti-Semitism.²³

Rejected by the wealthy and prestigious Western Jews, Herzl found support and love amongst the masses in England and in Eastern Europe where thousands lined the streets as he drove through their cities. A passionate nationalism elicited by his magnetic appeal and timely message in effect created the Zionist movement. The First Zionist Congress of 1897 was marvelously attended and the number of communities and Zionist-oriented groups and organizations represented grew at each succeeding conference.

During ensuing congresses rifts became apparent between different factions in the Zionist movement. It was divided along both religious and philosophical lines. Ahad Ha'am (1856-1927) represented the spiritual or cultural Zionists who emphasized the need for a spiritual rather than a political home in Palestine. Herzl led the "political Zionists" who insisted that a charter was the one important factor in creating the state. The Hibbat Zion movement represented the "practical Zionists" to whom emigration and working the soil was primary.

It was becoming increasingly clear after 1897 that the various factions were pulling the movement in different

²³For additional details concerning Herzl's Zionist career, see the chapter on Herzl.

see myself being politically an Arab; I think that if this happens I shall leave Palestine. I had rather die in the Diaspora than die and be buried here in the land of my ancestors if this land is to be regarded as an Arab country in which we are strangers.¹⁸

It is crucial in reading Ahad Ha'am's works that one be aware of the moral standpoint from which he surveyed the Middle Eastern situation, and understand that in each and every protest or condemnation of Jewish or Arab activity in Palestine, the emphasis lay on equal rights and high standards of justice in the relation between nations.

The clearest expression of Ahad Ha'am's views about the relationship between the individual and society and of the moral code which binds men and nations together is contained in his philosophical articles. Together with his critiques of Zionist policy and observations on yishuv life these are collected in the four volumes of Al Parashat Derachim (At the Crossroads).

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¹⁸Simon, Ahad Ha'am: Letters, Essays and Memoirs, p. 296. (Letter to L. Simon, Tel Aviv, 1924.)

¹⁹Ahad Ha'am, "The Transvaluation of Values," (1898), in Kahn, p. 168. Ahad Ha'am describes the Nietzschean Superman as "the strong man who has both the power to complete his life and the will to be master of his world without considering at all how much the great mass of inferior beings may lose in the process and the rest (of society) were created only to subserve his end, to be the ladder on which he can climb up to his proper level."

their very special status within Islam. This awareness can be defined as their Arab consciousness. When this consciousness became the basis of their demands for political rights, Arab nationalism was born.³

In attempting to assess the influence of early nineteenth century personalities and events on the evolution of Arab nationalism one cannot overlook the effect of Napoleon, the Wahhabis, and Muhammad Ali on the Arab people. Napoleon, who arrived in Egypt in 1798, was crucial in that he shocked the Middle East out of a period of stagnation into a confrontation with the Western world, its power, and its culture. The arrival of the printing press, which helped return to the Arabs their own literary tradition, and the resentment Napoleon inspired against the encroachment of Western influence, perhaps helped sow the seeds of Arab consciousness and discontent.⁴

A very early phenomenon, often described as the initial manifestation of nationalism in Arabia was the Wahhabi movement which was a concentrated attack on the religious laxity of the Ottoman government and Sultan and the influence of the ungodly West. Although the Wahhabi movement was religious in scope, calling for the return to the purity of an earlier era in Islam, it remained significant in that it recalled

³Yehoshua Porath, The Emergence of the Palestinian-Arab National Movement, 1918-1929, London, 1974, p. 20.

⁴Hisham Sharabi, Arab Intellectuals and the West, Baltimore, 1970, p. 35.

the Napoleonic reforms were abolished and the position of the Jew was once more endangered. It is not surprising that the trend toward nationalistic exclusiveness, anticosmopolitanism, and xenophobia bore along with it a new brand of anti-Semitism based on the Jew's status of stranger par excellence, rather than upon his religious beliefs. Western European Jews were naturally shocked by this turn toward anti-Semitism, but many chose to interpret it as a result of the incomplete assimilation and acculturation of the Jew into Western society. Many Jews in Germany now joined associations like the Zentralverein (Central Association of German Citizens of Jewish Persuasion) in an attempt to emphasize their allegiance to the state and their identity as Germans. Others chose conversion as the ultimate attempt toward assimilation into gentile society, convinced that only by denying totally the Jewish heritage can one become truly German or French.

While in Western Europe the position of the Jew was in constant flux since the advent of the French Revolution, progress and reform of any kind were slow to come to Russia and Eastern Europe and movement toward the emancipation of the Jew was almost at a standstill until the 1860s. It was only during the reign of Alexander II that a spirit of toleration seemed to signal a new era for Jews in Russia. Their hopes, already diminishing at the end of his reign when a conservative reaction developed, were dashed completely when a Jew was implicated in his assassination and pogroms resulted. Among the May Laws of 1882 were those forbidding the settling of Jews in rural areas, establishing a numerus clausus in the

well.

Ahad Ha'am's most significant contribution to Zionist ideology became known as "spiritual Zionism." Well understanding the obliqueness of the concept, he explained that he meant Palestinian society to be "the expression in matter and space of the thought and culture of a people."⁶ Ahad Ha'am saw the Jewish nation as distinct in regard to its moral nature. He believed strongly in the Jewish mission to point out to all other nations the true essence of morality and justice. Unlike leaders in the Reform movement who believed that the Jews could accomplish this mission only through permanent dispersion in the Diaspora, Ahad Ha'am felt that the mission had to be discharged by founding a society with high standards of morality, ethics and justice. Recognizing that it was impossible to settle all Jews in Palestine, he proposed to establish there a spiritual center which would radiate its values to a greater part of the Jewish people in the Diaspora. He explained,

The object of the movement is only to create for our people a national center, the influence of which on the Diaspora, will be spiritual only in the sense that it will strengthen the morale, increase their sense of unity,⁷ and provide a suitable context for their life as Jews.

In practice, Ahad Ha'am's spiritual Zionism affected his stance on matters of policy in Palestine. In discussing the issue of creating a totally Jewish labor force, for example, Ahad Ha'am explained why it was not crucial in his

⁶Bentwich, Ahad Ha'am and his Philosophy, Jerusalem, 1927, p. 19.

⁷Ibid., pp. 11, 19.

can and should be applied to international relations. Since according to standards of justice no one nation is obligated to sacrifice its well being in the interest of other nations, each is able to develop to its own potential while recognizing the right of the other to do so without hindrance.

Patriotism, that is, national egoism must not induce it (the nation) to disregard justice and fulfill itself through the destruction of other nations.²⁸

As we have seen, Ahad Ha'am's attitude toward Arab-Jewish relations was totally consistent with his views about the individual and society and of the moral codes which apply to both individuals and nations. For Zionists in Palestine actively involved in the frequently complex dealings with Arabs, Ahad Ha'am's sharply critical abstract moralistic stance at times inspired heated animosity. He was, however, overwhelmingly well received amongst the idealistic young members of the Second Aliyah for whom he formulated the goals and ideals for which they continued to strive.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 243.

context.⁷

One of the major causes for the advent of secular Zionism was the failure of the Enlightenment to bring about true emancipation for the Jew in Europe. Rationalism, the powerful intellectual force behind Enlightenment and the French Revolution was a system of thought which assumed that natural and human phenomena can be explained through reason. It stood in opposition to clericalism, to the ancien regime, and to persecution of minorities including the Jews. However, anti-Semitism was not totally foreign to the rationalist since he detested clannish superstition and obscurantism, all qualities commonly attributed to Jewish life.

In France, emancipation and the achievement of legal equality began in the wake of the French Revolution and was achieved in 1791. In 1794 there was an interlude of reaction and the Jews who were unfortunately associated with Robespierrean excesses became the targets of renewed anti-Semitism. This was especially true in Alsace-Lorraine where economic conditions were stringent and where Jewish moneylenders were

⁷ It is important to note that Zionism, understood as a movement encouraging the Jewish people to settle in Palestine, was not exclusively a Jewish phenomenon, and it originated much before the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries. Nachum Sokolow's two volume work, History of Zionism (London, 1919), describes in detail the Zionism of Bible-reading Englishmen who, during the 1600s, often studied the texts of Scriptures in the original Hebrew. These early Zionists desired to rebuild the Jewish nation in Palestine. It is interesting that many of those Christians also believed that Jews should further be allowed to enter England, which highlights the difference between their Zionism and the Zionism of nineteenth and twentieth century Christians who supported Jewish settlement in Palestine in order to prevent the settlement of Jewish refugees in their respective countries or in order not to have to grant emancipation to Jewish citizens. (Ben Halpern, The Idea of the Jewish State, Mass., 1961, ch. 8.)

often seemed like "a mourner at a wedding feast."⁹ In an essay entitled "Moses" written in 1904, Ahad Ha'am commented that the prophet, the man of truth, must "concentrate heart and mind on his ideal" the righteousness of which cannot be subverted for matters of temporary expedience "even at bidding of love or pity."¹⁰ He comments, however, that when the time comes when the ideal must be embodied into action half measures and compromise become essential, and the prophet keeps silent. Ahad Ha'am obviously recognized that his ultra-moralistic position would at times become impractical, and that in striving to achieve Zionist goals bold strides would be taken which perforce would involve human weakness and moral susceptibility.

For Ahad Ha'am the Arab presence in Palestine was strong and crucially important. He saw the Arab population as an obstacle to the regeneration of the Jewish spirit in the ancient homeland. An unpopulated land would have been preferable in establishing a national home for the Jewish culture which, in its newly reborn state, needs to be nondefensive and not susceptible to the impact of a foreign environment. Why did he nevertheless insist that the spiritual center of Judaism be reconstituted specifically in Palestine? He answers that while centuries ago the Jewish nation had been vigorously able to create a new national center, they now

⁹Bentwich, p. 11.

¹⁰Ahad Ha'am, "Moses," Hans Kahn, Nationalism and the Jewish Ethic, New York, 1962, p. 212.

his relationship with the settlers, especially in regard to their essential goals of independence and social equality, was unfortunate. In time, these early settlers became not very different from ordinary plantation owners, using cheap hired labor and working for commercial profit.²²

In Europe the 1884 Kattowitz Congress of the Hibbat Zion movement set up the machinery which was to represent Zionist activity in the East until the first World War. Pinsker was elected President at that meeting but although such slogans as "return to the soil" were stressed, the organization became involved in relatively petty issues and was never able to effectively clarify the scope of its activity. One of the many problems besetting the organization was a lack of cohesiveness and wranglings between the orthodox element, the secularists and the cultural Zionists which served to severely limit its contribution toward the Zionist cause.

Whereas there existed in Eastern Europe a deep longing for Palestine and a passionate nationalistic feeling among many Jews, the institutions designed to deal with Palestinian settlements were highly ineffective, and it was only when Zionism became a burning ideal in the West that effective moves were made to turn the dream of the return to Zion into a reality. The Dreyfus trial and scandal of 1894-1898 was that traumatic event which proved to many Western Jews that anti-Semitism was and would forever be a burden and barrier to Jewish emancipation.

²²See chapter on Conquest of Labor, p. 118.

political Zionist platform was seriously questioned and cultural Zionists, practical Zionists and territorialists battled for control.¹⁰ Herzl staunchly defended his position insisting that a political charter be attained prior to pursuing extensive settlement programs. He said,

If anyone arrives secretly in the night and the fog, he must not be surprised to be accosted by a cry of "Halt, who goes there?" and so much the worse for him if he cannot give a valid answer.¹¹

In quest for political sanction for the Jewish homeland Herzl brought his plan for Jewish statehood before a wide spectrum of political leaders in the East and West, including Kaiser Wilhelm II, Sultan Abdul Hamid, Austrian Emperor Franz Joseph, Czarist Minister of the Interior Wenzel von Plehve, and England's Joseph Chamberlain. His impact on both Jew and non-Jew was strongly enhanced by his striking appearance¹² and his strong reliance on the dramatic and theatrical element in political relations.¹³ His insightful explication of the

¹⁰For a description of the three factions of the Zionist movement, see p. of this study.

¹¹Herzl, "Address to the Third Congress," Zionist Pamphlets, N.Y. 1917, p. 19.

¹²Herzl, described by admirers as a "scion from the house of David" (Bein, Theodore Herzl, A Biography, p. 24), was always seen as magestically tall although he measured only 5'8". (Elon, p. 9)

¹³Herzl put great stock in what Elon calls the mise-en-scene, believing that masses could be manipulated through sight and sound. On the occasion of the World Zionist Congress an observer commented to him that "This movement is all noise." He replied, Yes, of course. But noise is everything. A sustained noise is in itself a memorable feat. All of world history is nothing but clamor, clamor of arms, clamor of ideas on the march. One must make use of the noise, yet despise it. (Elon, p. 256)

It is possible that because of this great confidence in the crucial role of leadership, Herzl foresaw few problems in regard to the Arab population in Palestine where no charismatic leadership was in evidence.

crucial importance of a flag amply illustrates his keen grasp of the human element in political life.

And then you might have asked mockingly, a flag? What's that? A stick with a rag on it? No sir, a flag is more than that. With a flag one can lead men wherever one wants to, even to the Promised Land.

For a flag men live and die. It is indeed the only thing for which they are ready to die in masses if one trains them for it. Believe me, the policy of an entire people particularly when it is scattered all over the earth can be carried out only with the imponderables that float in thin air.¹⁴

In attempting to delineate and describe Herzl's approach to the problem of Arab-Jewish relations in Palestine, it is crucial to determine the point in his political career at which Herzl had decided that Palestine would be the optimal homeland of the Jews. There is ample proof that at the very early stages of his Zionist efforts, Palestine was not the land of choice. In a notation of 1895 he wrote,

The promised land--nobody thought to look for it where it really is, within ourselves. The promised land is where we shall take it...The promised land is where it is all right for us to have hooked noses, black and red beards and bandy legs without being despised for these things alone, where at last we can live-as free men on our own soil and die in peace in our own homeland...So the despised appellation "Jew" may become an honorable appellation like "German", "Englishman", "Frenchman", in short, like that of all civilized peoples.¹⁵

Herzl's lengthy memorandum "Speech to the Rothchilds" of 1895 rejects Palestine as a possible choice on account of its proximity to Europe and difficulty of climate. Herzl suggests that a committee of geographers and scientists would be

¹⁴Herzl, The Complete Diaries of Theodore Herzl, Patai, ed., N.Y. 1960, Vol. I, pp. 27-28, June 3, 1895.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 101, June 14, 1895.

best equipped to decide on the optimal location of the Jewish homeland.¹⁶ In The Jewish State Herzl mentions both Palestine and Argentina as possible choice areas for Jewish settlement. He writes,

Shall we choose Palestine or Argentina? We shall take what is given to us and what is selected by Jewish public opinion. The Society will determine both these points. Argentina is one the most fertile countries in the world, extends over vast areas, has a sparse population, and a mild climate...Palestine is our ever memorable historic home. The very name of Palestine would attract our people with a force of marvelous potency.¹⁷

In his critical study of The Jewish State written in 1931, Chaim Weizmann opines that Herzl was not serious in his proposal that Palestine be considered a prime location for the Jewish homeland. He suggests that Herzl included it as an option only to pacify some Hibbat Zion factions.¹⁸ It seems more likely, however, that Herzl was in all seriousness weighing the significance of optimal climate and geographic conditions against the emotional attachment of a people to its national home. It is clear, however, that by the 1897 Zionist Congress in Basel, settlement in Palestine had become the goal of the Zionist movement.

In light of the delay between the birth of the Zionist idea in Herzl's mind and the decision that Jews must relocate particularly in Palestine, and in view of the fact that Herzl's

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 129, June 13, 1895.

¹⁷ Herzl, The Jewish State, pp. 95-96.

¹⁸ Weizmann's study of 1931 was intended to defend his position favoring equal rights for Jews and Arabs in Palestine. Weizmann was attempting to prove that both Herzl's and Max Nordau's writings were sympathetic to his approach.

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One of the major causes for the advent of secular Zionism was the failure of the Enlightenment to bring about true emancipation for the Jew in Europe. Rationalism, the powerful intellectual force behind Enlightenment and the French Revolution was a system of thought which assumed that natural and human phenomena can be explained through reason. It stood in opposition to clericalism, to the ancien regime, and to persecution of minorities including the Jews. However, anti-Semitism was not totally foreign to the rationalist since he detested clannish superstition and obscurantism, all qualities commonly attributed to Jewish life.

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culture, Herzl formulated a two faceted Zionist goal. Zionists, he explained, yearn to achieve the humane and peaceful solution to the Jewish problem while establishing a just society which would disseminate Western culture in underdeveloped areas.

In a speech in 1899 he referred to the Zionist "dream for the great eternal truth." He contrasted the Zionists with the Crusaders who returned to uncivilized Europe with the civilization, culture, and technology of the East in "the folds of their clothing."²⁴ He added,

Zionism will return to the Eastern lands all that is good, all that is most elevated, all that is great from the lands of the West from which we will begin our travels.²⁵

In Die Welt, in 1899, Herzl denied the chauvinistic, exclusivistic element in Zionism, saying,

Antagonism between the various nations and the Jews will be created only in case the Zionists will appropriate for themselves wild chauvinistic practices. We imagine ourselves devoted to the unity of all nations, and if we want to work on behalf of this unity, we will find that the Zionist ideals do not contradict the humanistic ideas of the love of humanity at large. But we do not want to be cosmopolitan, lacking identity. We want to admit to our nationality while we concern ourselves with the more elevated ideals of humanitarianism...We want to be true to ourselves. Then it will be more believed that we can be true to others who are deserving.²⁶

Recognizing the universal concern for the holy places, Herzl assured the Kaiser in the course of their meeting in

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Herzl, "Hatzionut, Idial Sh'ain Lo Sof," (Zionism, An Ideal Which Has No Limits), Kitvei Herzl, Vol. I (Bifnei Am V'olam -- Before Nation and World), Warsaw, 1922.

²⁶Ibid., p. 381. (An article from Die Welt, July 6, 1899)

view of cultural rather than political Zionism to capture the entire labor market. He wrote,

I do not ask for instance what is the use of a Hebrew colony which employs Arab labor and not exclusively Jewish labor. That question is important if we regard the present yishuv as the foundation of a state. But if we look at it only from my point of view, asking how it can influence the spirit of the people as a whole, this drawback, serious though it is, cannot be regarded as fatal. If a large number of settlements of a truly Hebrew character are established, there is no doubt that they will have a great influence on Jewish life, even if they don't employ exclusively Jewish labor.⁸

While Herzl was most concerned with the political viability of Jewish settlement in Palestine and denied the usefulness of any efforts at enlarging the Yishuv until a charter had been attained, Ahad Ha'am felt that a successful limited settlement in Palestine was crucial in order to psychologically orient the Jewish people toward pride in their national heritage. Herzl's major concern was on behalf of oppressed Jews; Ahad Ha'am's interests centered upon the plight of a beleaguered Judaism. Fortunately in the beginning of the twentieth century Zionism was able to integrate the values and aims of both cultural or spiritual Zionism as expressed by Ahad Ha'am and Herzl's political Zionism.

Ahad Ha'am's impact on young Zionists of his generation was powerful, although his views were unpopular with those leaders who differed sharply with him on the issues of Zionist policy. He seemed to lack an appreciation of the emotional appeal and romance of the Zionist cause and was referred to as a "detached seer" and "moral conscience" who

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to which they are ultimately drawn. The autobiographical elements of the story lie in the several characters who are clearly distinguishable from among Herzl's family, friends, and political opponents, and more importantly in the distinct atmosphere of fin-du-siecle.³⁵

Socially and culturally the society of "Altneuland", as Herzl pictured it, incorporates all that is progressive and elevated in the European environment, including the arts, theater, ballet and opera. European customs and fashions are mimicked fully.³⁶ In regard to language, the most classic gauge of nationalistic affiliation, German is used almost exclusively in daily life, while Hebrew is relegated to religious worship and occasional song. A fascinating but disturbing assumption on Herzl's part is that Jews are singularly uncreative and totally dependent on European culture. Their talent seems to lie only in adapting European cultural accomplishments to their own milieu.

A most basic premise in Altneuland is the virtue and beauty inherent in tolerance and brotherly love. Within the novel there is a political debate between two factions of Altneuland society about the rights of non-Jews to incorporate

³⁵There are references to the suicides of several friends of the hero, clearly reminiscent of Hans Kana, Herzl's comrade who had taken his life in desperation. The young hero is also unlucky in love, like Herzl himself whose personal life was fraught with strife.

³⁶There is a rather lengthy segment in the novel where the two heroes, anxious to attend the ballet in Altneuland, are unable to do so without the requisite white gloves, which they painstakingly acquire. The emphasis on appropriate dress is again reflective of Herzl's interest and insistence on standards of elegance and style.

themselves into the New Society. One of the heroes, David Litwak, speaks in favor of tolerance and acceptance.

It would be unethical for us to deny a share in our commonwealth to any man wherever he might come from, whatever his race or creed. For we stand on the shoulders of other civilized peoples. If a man joins us--if he accepts our institutions and assumes the duties of the commonwealth--he should be entitled to enjoy all our rights. We ought to pay our debts and that can be done in only one way, by the exercise of utmost tolerance. Our slogan must be, now and always--"Man thou art my brother."³⁷

Obviously inherent in an attitude of tolerance and brotherhood in a Middle Eastern society is a good relationship with the Arab population of the Jewish land. The Arabs are represented in the person Reschid Bey, one of the hero's devoted friends, a guest at the traditional Passover Seder, and activist in the political election. He is thus described in the novel:

He studied in Berlin...His father was among the first to understand the beneficent character of the Jewish immigration and enriched himself because he kept pace with our economic progress. Reschid himself is a member of our New Society.³⁸

In addressing himself to Arab modes, Reschid speaks of the political rights of women. He says,

No one is obliged to join the New Society and those who do join are not compelled to exercise their rights. They do as they please. So it is with our women and their rights.³⁹

There follows a description of Reschid's wife, Fatima, and a discussion of her life-style.

"She is a friend of ours," said Miriam of Reschid's wife. "She is well bred and well educated. We often see her but only in her own home. Reschid adheres strictly to

³⁷ Herzl, Altneuland, Leipzig, 1902, p. 152.

³⁸ Ibid., pp. 68-69. ³⁹ Ibid., p. 75.

such as Aaron David Gordon who urged that manual labor has resuscitating effects upon national groups, and Nahman Syrkin and Ber Borochov, who emphasized the socialist goals of the new settlements provided the ideology which inspired the olim to tenaciously adhere to their plans despite the hardships they faced.

Zionism, most often defined as Jewish nationalism differs from other nationalist movements in various ways.²⁶

Aliya to establish agricultural settlements in Palestine rather than engage in trade or commerce which had been particularly Jewish occupations in Europe was an interesting phenomenon stemming from several trends in the Jewish experience. Firstly, the Jewish national memory of ancient Palestine before the Diaspora was of an agricultural society. Prayers, recited three times daily, beseeched G-d for timely rains and rich harvests. Although Russian immigrants had forsaken traditional orthodoxy in their young adult lives the impact of these strong images remained with them. The nineteenth century Hebrew literary revival in Europe glorified the old Jewish agricultural tradition, lyrically describing the strong ancient Jewish nation, living peacefully and prosperously on its fertile land. When in the late nineteenth century the agriculturally based Narodnik movement gained popularity in Russia²⁷ attraction of Jewish revolutionaries, the soil was again strengthened. In addition the olim of the first and second aliyot were in their immigration closing the door on their European pasts, and rejecting the trades which they felt had debased their people in Russia and Europe and had engendered the anti-Semitism from which they were now fleeing.

²⁶ Halpern provides, in chapter 4 of his book, an excellent discussion of the differences between Zionism and different forms of nationalism upon which the following section is based.

Reschid. "Would you call a man a robber who takes nothing from you and brings you something instead? The Jews have enriched us...Why should we be angry with them? They dwell amongst us like brothers, why should we not love them? He (David Litwak) prays in a different house to the G-d who is above us all. But our houses of worship stand side by side, and I always believe that our prayers, when they rise, mingle somewhere above, and they continue on their way together until they appear before Our Father."

(Kingscourt again asks) "Very fine. Sounds reasonable. But you're an educated man. You've studied in Europe. I hardly think the simple country or town folk will be likely to think like you do."

(Reschid responds) "They more than anyone else...I did not learn tolerance in the Occident. We Moslems have always had better relations with the Jews than you Christians. When the first colonists settled here half a century ago, Arabs went to the Jews to judge between them and often asked Jewish village councils for help and advice. There was no difficulty in that respect. So long as the Gezer policy (recommending exclusion of non-Jews) does not win the upper hand all will be well in our brotherland."⁴¹

Herzl, in Altneuland, makes mention of Arab contribution to Palestinian culture before the arrival of the Jewish population, although from references within his political writings and speeches he seemed to have barely recognized the existence of an Arab population. Note the following exchange.

"We Jews introduced cultivation here," Steinek the architect said.

"Pardon me, sir," cried Reschid Bey with a friendly smile. "But this sort of thing was here before you came, at least there were signs of it. My father planted oranges extensively...This used to be my father's plantation. It's mine now."

"I don't deny that you had orange groves before we came," thundered Steinek. "But you could never get full value from them."

Reschid nodded. "That is correct. Our profit has grown considerably. Our orange transport has multiplied tenfold since we have had greater transportation facilities to connect us with the whole world. Everything here has increased in value since your immigration."⁴²

In light of Altneuland it becomes difficult to maintain

⁴¹Ibid., pp. 121-125. ⁴²Ibid., p. 121.

that Herzl remained unaware of the Arab people or of the possibilities for conflict. The questions with which he deals, though simplistic and naively stated, are too explicit, too direct to imply an ignorance of the situation. The astonishing absence of any reference to the Arab people in most of his diary, especially in notations recorded during his visit in Palestine, and the fact that Altneuland was written in 1903, a year before his death, suggests an awakening late in Herzl's career of a more serious concern with the problem. However, the attitudes of the Arab population and the threat posed to it in a financial sense concerned Herzl, whereas Arab nationalism did not. Another reason for Herzl's disregard of the nationalist hopes of the Palestinian people was that their nationalist movement was in its invisible stages in 1903. We will find that few observers on the political scene in Palestine commented on it before 1905⁴³ and that it became an important factor only after the revolution in 1908.

Altneuland met with bitter criticism on the part of influential Zionists and a heated exchange of articles ensued.⁴⁴ Ahad Ha'am voiced his strongest objection in reference to the Passover Seder festivities, described in the novel, in which Moslems and Christians participated. He rejects the

⁴³Elon, p. 350. In 1905, the first important document representing the Arab nationalist viewpoint in Palestine was published by Negib Azhour. See p. 33 of this study.

⁴⁴One of the most vocal critics of Herzl's Altneuland was Martin Buber who subsequently became deeply involved in plans for Arab-Zionist cooperation. Surprisingly, he objected to the novel on the grounds that it "contained no single quality expressive of the folk characteristics of the Hebraic revival." (Elon, Herzl, p. 350.)

The construction of the Hijaz railway, the purpose of which was the collection of taxes amongst the Arab population and the elimination of transportation problems for the pilgrimage, also helped strengthen the flow of communication amongst the various Arab nationalist groups. Arabs received excellent military training under German specialists like Colonel Von der Goltz, who was recruited by Abdul Hamid to strengthen the Ottoman military machine. Later these officers took on leadership roles in various battles for independence.¹¹

In regard to the relationship of Arabs to the Young Turks, it is interesting that those Arabs who did join the movement in 1908 did so in terms of their Ottoman citizenship and not as Arab nationalists. They looked forward to a period of equality and democracy under Ottoman rule. When the Young Turks almost immediately after the revolution began to dwell on Turkish nationalism and on Turkish ethnic qualities, many Arabs were forced to develop similar attitudes and to use similar tactics in regard to their own culture and heritage.

As the nineteenth century drew towards its close, the influence of the intellectuals on the Muslim community strengthened in the direction of promoting Islamic and Arab pride and thus inadvertently supporting nationalist activity. Much of the intellectual activity during that period was a response to the challenge of superior Western technology and military

¹¹Ibid., pp. 77-78.

an age of Arab supremacy.

To the student of Arab history, perhaps the most obvious manifestation of Arab nationalism at its early stage is the rise and success of Mumammad Ali and his son Ibrahim. During Muhammad Ali's political and military career he rose to the position of Pasha of Egypt in 1805, conquered Syria in 1831, and was granted the hereditary title of Pasha of Egypt in 1841. Under his leadership the Egyptian administration became politically, economically, and militarily almost autonomous.

In Syria the earliest forums for discussion of nationalism and related concepts were the Learned Societies of the 1850s. The Society of Arts and Sciences and the Oriental Society were composed primarily of Christian Arabs; the Syrian Scientific Society formed in 1857 included Arabs of all religious denominations. Of this group Antonius says that it was "the first outward manifestation of a collective national consciousness and its importance in history is that it was the cradle of a new political movement."⁵ It was the Secret Society of Beirut (1875), however, which was the first group formed with the explicit purpose of publicizing nationalist thought. Composed originally of Christians, it eventually attracted Moslems and Druze as well. The Placard Society, which seems to have worked in conjunction with the Secret Society, exhibited posters, the authorship of which remained forever unknown, calling the Arab nation to revolution.

⁵Antonius, The Arab Awakening, pp. 51-54.

context.⁷

One of the major causes for the advent of secular Zionism was the failure of the Enlightenment to bring about true emancipation for the Jew in Europe. Rationalism, the powerful intellectual force behind Enlightenment and the French Revolution was a system of thought which assumed that natural and human phenomena can be explained through reason. It stood in opposition to clericalism, to the ancien regime, and to persecution of minorities including the Jews. However, anti-Semitism was not totally foreign to the rationalist since he detested clannish superstition and obscurantism, all qualities commonly attributed to Jewish life.

In France, emancipation and the achievement of legal equality began in the wake of the French Revolution and was achieved in 1791. In 1794 there was an interlude of reaction and the Jews who were unfortunately associated with Robespierrean excesses became the targets of renewed anti-Semitism. This was especially true in Alsace-Lorraine where economic conditions were stringent and where Jewish moneylenders were

⁷ It is important to note that Zionism, understood as a movement encouraging the Jewish people to settle in Palestine, was not exclusively a Jewish phenomenon, and it originated much before the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries. Nachum Sokolow's two volume work, History of Zionism (London, 1919), describes in detail the Zionism of Bible-reading Englishmen who, during the 1600s, often studied the texts of Scriptures in the original Hebrew. These early Zionists desired to rebuild the Jewish nation in Palestine. It is interesting that many of those Christians also believed that Jews should further be allowed to enter England, which highlights the difference between their Zionism and the Zionism of nineteenth and twentieth century Christians who supported Jewish settlement in Palestine in order to prevent the settlement of Jewish refugees in their respective countries or in order not to have to grant emancipation to Jewish citizens. (Ben Halpern, The Idea of the Jewish State, Mass., 1961, ch. 8.)

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While national movements generally express themselves in a struggle for independence and sovereignty over a land in which at least a large portion of the population dwells, for the Zionist movement no such land existed. This situation was complicated by the differences in opinion among Zionists as to whether the goal of political sovereignty, which is assumed to be the essential principle of all other national movements, is most important to Zionism. For Herzl, for example, settlement was worthless without the political charter while Ahad Ha'am insisted that a spiritual center was primary.

Whereas nationalist movements generally seek to revive lethargic national feelings, Zionism had to do battle with two very viable and energetic positions, orthodox and reform movements in Judaism. Both at various times were vociferously opposed to the fledgling movement.

Is Zionism tied to the physical entity of Palestine? On that issue too there existed a variance of opinion. Ideologists such as Ahad Ha'am, Borochoy and Gordon felt that only in Palestine can the Jew feel at home and that there existed in the Jewish national memory a longing for its old land. Pinsker and Herzl, while admitting the validity of these ideas, nevertheless insisted that in order to insure its survival the Jew might be forced to create a new national home.

In 1908, the challenges facing the Zionist movement were many. Relations between the movement and the non-Jewish world were difficult and even relations between Zionists and the Jewish community at large were not simple. Burdened as

and confidence can be corrected only by establishing a homeland preferably with the help of cultured and moneyed Jewry in Western Europe. In regard to the location of the Jewish homeland, he insists that while Palestine is preferable, the Jew must relocate to any other hospitable area if necessary.

Pinsker found an audience among Jewish intellectuals now rejecting enlightened assimilation. It is interesting to note that while pogroms had previously occurred in Russia, it was only during the 1880s that Jewish intellectuals felt propelled toward nationalism rather than toward more extreme assimilation. The pogroms of the 1880s, unlike those which had preceded them, had the approval of journalists, university students, and the Russian intelligentsia. The enlightened university-educated Jews, who had always felt that they had more in common with educated Russians than with their poverty-stricken fellow Jew, now realized that anti-Semitism was common to all classes and that within Russian society the Jew can find no haven. Jewish students, comforting weeping fellow Jews in a synagogue in Kiev following the massacre, expressed the following emotion:

We are your brothers, we are Jews like you. We regret and repent that we considered ourselves Russians and not Jews until now. The events of the past weeks--the pogroms in Eliaavetgrad, in Balta, here in Kiev and in other cities have shown us how tragically we were mistaken. Yes, we are Jews.¹⁸

Among those who harkened eagerly to Pinsker's impassioned plea were members of the Hibbat Zion groups (Love of

¹⁸Abraham Cahan, Bletter Fun Mein Leben, 1926, vol. 1, p. 500, quoted in Halpern, p. 62.

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those powers--Russia, Germany, England and France--would allow only a nonmilitary and nonaggressive group such as the Zionists to grow powerful in one country in order to counter the development of a real threat to their own influence in the area.

In terms of the long-range impact of Arab nationalism on the Middle East, Chermoni reflects quite seriously on the validity of an Arab national movement.

About the question, is there basis to fear the danger of an Arab movement, we think we can easily respond that for the time being there is no such danger. Temporarily, and we underscore that word, there is no Arab movement in Asian Turkey, because the Arabs are divided according to tribe, class, and religion, and unity between the various parts of the widely separated factions of this impoverished nation is possible only if the nation becomes more cultured and less fanatical. Among the Arabs even on a small scale this idea, the idea of a national revival has a right to exist just as do our idea and the idea of the Czechs and others. And we must pay heed to this matter because there is no doubt that this idea will develop in the lands of the Arab tongue, and will spread together with the proliferation of the railroads and European settlements. A day will come that this movement about which only Azhour, Jung, and others of their like prophesy today will in fact appear in one form or another.¹⁰

Chermoni goes on to angrily denounce the indifference of the Zionist leadership to anti-Zionist literature emanating from Europe and the Arab world. Just as Azhour's and Jung's works were received with interest in the European press, Chermoni felt that a Zionist response would receive similar recognition. The failure of the Zionists to refute anti-Zionist and anti-Semitic slander was, in Chermoni's view, unpardonable.

¹⁰ Chermoni, "Hatenuah Haaravit Vekidmat Asyah" (The Arab Movement and the Middle East), Hashiloach, XVI, p. 463.

In "Aravi Bizchut Haivrim" (An Arab Defense of the Jews), published in 1907, Chermoni discusses the work of a Christian Arab, Farid Qatsab, The Arab Kingdom, the Curia Romana and the Fictitious Jewish Danger, a bitingly sharp critique of Azhour's work. Chermoni assumes that just as Azhour had been the mouthpiece of British propaganda, and Jung the representative of French biases, Qatsab in this work served as the spokesman of Turkish authorities. Qatsab denies the validity of Azhour's manifesto, contending that the large number of Moslem Arabs would never have entrusted their national hopes to the hands of Azhour, a Christian. Chermoni is encouraged by Qatsab's enthusiasm on the score of Zionist aspirations, claiming that his views represent the opinions of not one Arab, but the more crucial good will of the Turkish authorities. Chermoni therefore sees a good relationship with the Turks as an essential element of Zionist strategy.¹¹

One of the earliest essays on the subject of Jewish attitudes to Arabs is Yitzchak Epstein's "Sheela Neelama" (The Unseen Question), which was first presented as a talk at the seventh Zionist Congress of 1905 and was published in Hashiloach in 1907. This work was important in that it created a dialogue and controversy which found continuous expression in the press. Epstein's most important premise is that in order to establish a strong Jewish hold in Palestine, cooperation with the Arab fellah is crucial. Therefore extreme

¹¹Chermoni, "Aravi Bizchut Haivrim" (An Arab in Defense of Jewish Rights), Hashiloach, XVII, Jan. 1908, pp. 360-365.

their very special status within Islam. This awareness can be defined as their Arab consciousness. When this consciousness became the basis of their demands for political rights, Arab nationalism was born.³

In attempting to assess the influence of early nineteenth century personalities and events on the evolution of Arab nationalism one cannot overlook the effect of Napoleon, the Wahhabis, and Muhammad Ali on the Arab people. Napoleon, who arrived in Egypt in 1798, was crucial in that he shocked the Middle East out of a period of stagnation into a confrontation with the Western world, its power, and its culture. The arrival of the printing press, which helped return to the Arabs their own literary tradition, and the resentment Napoleon inspired against the encroachment of Western influence, perhaps helped sow the seeds of Arab consciousness and discontent.⁴

A very early phenomenon, often described as the initial manifestation of nationalism in Arabia was the Wahhabi movement which was a concentrated attack on the religious laxity of the Ottoman government and Sultan and the influence of the ungodly West. Although the Wahhabi movement was religious in scope, calling for the return to the purity of an earlier era in Islam, it remained significant in that it recalled

³Yehoshua Porath, The Emergence of the Palestinian-Arab National Movement, 1918-1929, London, 1974, p. 20.

⁴Hisham Sharabi, Arab Intellectuals and the West, Baltimore, 1970, p. 35.

cultural superiority of the Jew. He implies a moral responsibility on the part of the Jew to share medical and educational facilities with the less fortunate Arab neighbor, warning simultaneously that should such cooperation and tolerance be lacking the Jew might find that he had tampered with a sleeping lion. Epstein cautions that the Jew deal carefully with the Arab but concludes his article on an optimistic note quoting a passage from Jeremiah, "Let us teach them the good way and let us also be built."¹⁵

In her strong retort to Epstein's essay Nechama Puchatzevsky, writing from the settlement Rishon Letzion, partially denies the severity of Arab anti-Semitism, pointing out their awareness of the improvement in the quality of life promoted by Jewish settlement in Palestine. She claims, however, that at the root of Arab resentment lies the landless condition of the Jews. She refers to the "eternal hatred for a nation exiled from its land"¹⁶ and points out that anti-Semitism in Russia, too, where Jews were engaged in revolutionary work on behalf of the Russian people, stems only from their rightless condition itself.

Puchatzevsky rejects Epstein's suggestion that Jews develop marginal farm land for Jewish settlement, explaining that the chaotic financial circumstances of the existing settlements would necessarily bar any heavy investments in the

¹⁵Ibid., p. 206.

¹⁶Nechama Puchatzevsky, "Sheelot Gluyot" (Obvious Questions), Hashiloach, 1907, p. 86.

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(Kingscourt again asks) "Very fine. Sounds reasonable. But you're an educated man. You've studied in Europe. I hardly think the simple country or town folk will be likely to think like you do."

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Herzl, in Altneuland, makes mention of Arab contribution to Palestinian culture before the arrival of the Jewish population, although from references within his political writings and speeches he seemed to have barely recognized the existence of an Arab population. Note the following exchange.

"We Jews introduced cultivation here," Steinek the architect said.

"Pardon me, sir," cried Reschid Bey with a friendly smile. "But this sort of thing was here before you came, at least there were signs of it. My father planted oranges extensively...This used to be my father's plantation. It's mine now."

"I don't deny that you had orange groves before we came," thundered Steinek. "But you could never get full value from them."

Reschid nodded. "That is correct. Our profit has grown considerably. Our orange transport has multiplied tenfold since we have had greater transportation facilities to connect us with the whole world. Everything here has increased in value since your immigration."⁴²

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⁴¹Ibid., pp. 121-125. ⁴²Ibid., p. 121.

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⁴¹Ibid., pp. 121-125. ⁴²Ibid., p. 121.

to which they are ultimately drawn. The autobiographical elements of the story lie in the several characters who are clearly distinguishable from among Herzl's family, friends, and political opponents, and more importantly in the distinct atmosphere of fin-du-siecle.³⁵

Socially and culturally the society of "Altneuland", as Herzl pictured it, incorporates all that is progressive and elevated in the European environment, including the arts, theater, ballet and opera. European customs and fashions are mimicked fully.³⁶ In regard to language, the most classic gauge of nationalistic affiliation, German is used almost exclusively in daily life, while Hebrew is relegated to religious worship and occasional song. A fascinating but disturbing assumption on Herzl's part is that Jews are singularly uncreative and totally dependent on European culture. Their talent seems to lie only in adapting European cultural accomplishments to their own milieu.

A most basic premise in Altneuland is the virtue and beauty inherent in tolerance and brotherly love. Within the novel there is a political debate between two factions of Altneuland society about the rights of non-Jews to incorporate

³⁵There are references to the suicides of several friends of the hero, clearly reminiscent of Hans Kana, Herzl's comrade who had taken his life in desperation. The young hero is also unlucky in love, like Herzl himself whose personal life was fraught with strife.

³⁶There is a rather lengthy segment in the novel where the two heroes, anxious to attend the ballet in Altneuland, are unable to do so without the requisite white gloves, which they painstakingly acquire. The emphasis on appropriate dress is again reflective of Herzl's interest and insistence on standards of elegance and style.

the Napoleonic reforms were abolished and the position of the Jew was once more endangered. It is not surprising that the trend toward nationalistic exclusiveness, anticosmopolitanism, and xenophobia bore along with it a new brand of anti-Semitism based on the Jew's status of stranger par excellence, rather than upon his religious beliefs. Western European Jews were naturally shocked by this turn toward anti-Semitism, but many chose to interpret it as a result of the incomplete assimilation and acculturation of the Jew into Western society. Many Jews in Germany now joined associations like the Zentralverein (Central Association of German Citizens of Jewish Persuasion) in an attempt to emphasize their allegiance to the state and their identity as Germans. Others chose conversion as the ultimate attempt toward assimilation into gentile society, convinced that only by denying totally the Jewish heritage can one become truly German or French.

While in Western Europe the position of the Jew was in constant flux since the advent of the French Revolution, progress and reform of any kind were slow to come to Russia and Eastern Europe and movement toward the emancipation of the Jew was almost at a standstill until the 1860s. It was only during the reign of Alexander II that a spirit of toleration seemed to signal a new era for Jews in Russia. Their hopes, already diminishing at the end of his reign when a conservative reaction developed, were dashed completely when a Jew was implicated in his assassination and pogroms resulted. Among the May Laws of 1882 were those forbidding the settling of Jews in rural areas, establishing a numerus clausus in the

Russification, especially by poets like Peretz Smolenskin, coincided with the end of the liberal era of Alexander II. Smolenskin likened those who denigrated the Jewish tradition to thieves who rob the Jewish people of both the crutch of nationalism and of religion and are then astounded to see it fall.¹¹ His call was initially only for the return to Jewish pride and became a demand for the return to Palestine only after the pogroms of the 1880s.

Although the history of modern Zionism begins in effect in the late nineteenth century with the development of the Hibbat Zion movement and with Herzl's commitment to the cause, there were earlier in the century cogent and explicit expressions of the Zionist ideal.

Moses Hess, a German born Jew, exiled to France, wrote Rome and Jerusalem in 1862. A man of Bohemian lifestyle and largely non-Jewish involvements, Hess became disillusioned with the quality of the revolutions of 1848. He predated Herzl in his keen understanding of the problem of anti-Semitism and in his arrival at the conclusion that only a land of their own would solve the Jews' problem in Europe. Hess noted the change in the nature of nationalism from the "liberal nationalism" of the Enlightenment era to the "romantic nationalism" which spoke to the national soul and the history of the folk. In the development of "romantic nationalism" it seemed to Hess that the hope of assimilationist Jewry and of the Reform Jewish movement to achieve acceptance and emancipation

¹¹ Peretz Smolenskin, "The Haskalah of Berlin," 1883, quoted in Hertzberg, p. 155.

to alert Herzl to the Arab-Jewish dilemma fell on deaf ears at the Second Zionist Congress,²⁹ expressed the need for Jews to extrapolate a clearer understanding of the Arab spirit from Arabic literature.

It must surely please the Jewish reader to know the ways of the Arab nation, its customs and its way of life, because it is so close to our fathers' when they resided in this land and in its customs and habits, in its nobility... He (the Jew) will be even more pleased to know that many of our brethren in Palestine found peace amongst the Arabs and lived securely with them.³⁰

Yehuda's famous correspondent, Shaul Tzernichovsky, could not agree more. He bade the Jews

delve into Arab letters in order to learn of the great nobility, love of the land, desire for freedom and war-like spirit which is the stamp of a living nation...all of which was lost to us but remained intact in the residents of the land, our Arab brothers. They are obviously recognizable in their poetry, should it be translated to our tongue. If they would enter our literature they would surely influence it, their strong spirit would aid us in relieving ourselves for the bonds of hated slavery and the chains of submission and fear embedded with us.³¹

The goal of widespread interaction in the cultural sphere between Arab and Jew remained, however, a subject of heated controversy on the Jewish scene. Joseph Klausner, under the pen-name Ish Ivri, in an essay published in 1907 presented strong arguments opposing cultural sharing between the two nations. He comments on the tendency among the young olim, especially of the vibrant Second Aliya, to dress in Arab style and to imitate and accept Arab modes and values.

²⁹A.S. Yehuda, "My Early Meetings With Herzl," Zionews, July-August 1943, pp. 26-27.

³⁰Yardeni, p. 323.

³¹A.S. Yahuda, "Chalifat Michtavim Im Tzernichovsky al Hashira Haaravit," (Correspondence with Tzernichovsky About Arabic Poetry), Hadoar 24 (1944), p. 523.

his relationship with the settlers, especially in regard to their essential goals of independence and social equality, was unfortunate. In time, these early settlers became not very different from ordinary plantation owners, using cheap hired labor and working for commercial profit.²²

In Europe the 1884 Kattowitz Congress of the Hibbat Zion movement set up the machinery which was to represent Zionist activity in the East until the first World War. Pinsker was elected President at that meeting but although such slogans as "return to the soil" were stressed, the organization became involved in relatively petty issues and was never able to effectively clarify the scope of its activity. One of the many problems besetting the organization was a lack of cohesiveness and wranglings between the orthodox element, the secularists and the cultural Zionists which served to severely limit its contribution toward the Zionist cause.

Whereas there existed in Eastern Europe a deep longing for Palestine and a passionate nationalistic feeling among many Jews, the institutions designed to deal with Palestinian settlements were highly ineffective, and it was only when Zionism became a burning ideal in the West that effective moves were made to turn the dream of the return to Zion into a reality. The Dreyfus trial and scandal of 1894-1898 was that traumatic event which proved to many Western Jews that anti-Semitism was and would forever be a burden and barrier to Jewish emancipation.

²²See chapter on Conquest of Labor, p. 118.

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³Yehoshua Porath, The Emergence of the Palestinian-Arab National Movement, 1918-1929, London, 1974, p. 20.

⁴Hisham Sharabi, Arab Intellectuals and the West, Baltimore, 1970, p. 35.

cultural superiority of the Jew. He implies a moral responsibility on the part of the Jew to share medical and educational facilities with the less fortunate Arab neighbor, warning simultaneously that should such cooperation and tolerance be lacking the Jew might find that he had tampered with a sleeping lion. Epstein cautions that the Jew deal carefully with the Arab but concludes his article on an optimistic note quoting a passage from Jeremiah, "Let us teach them the good way and let us also be built."¹⁵

In her strong retort to Epstein's essay Nechama Puchatzevsky, writing from the settlement Rishon Letzion, partially denies the severity of Arab anti-Semitism, pointing out their awareness of the improvement in the quality of life promoted by Jewish settlement in Palestine. She claims, however, that at the root of Arab resentment lies the landless condition of the Jews. She refers to the "eternal hatred for a nation exiled from its land"¹⁶ and points out that anti-Semitism in Russia, too, where Jews were engaged in revolutionary work on behalf of the Russian people, stems only from their rightless condition itself.

Puchatzevsky rejects Epstein's suggestion that Jews develop marginal farm land for Jewish settlement, explaining that the chaotic financial circumstances of the existing settlements would necessarily bar any heavy investments in the

¹⁵Ibid., p. 206.

¹⁶Nechama Puchatzevsky, "Sheelot Gluyot" (Obvious Questions), Hashiloach, 1907, p. 86.

died. How can a Jew share in the folk history of another nation?¹²

Rabbi Yehuda Alkalai (1798-1878) and Rabbi Zvi Hirsch Kalischer (1795-1875) spoke to the religious problem involving the nature of messianic intervention and the return to Zion. Both were deeply influenced by nationalist movements in Italy, Germany, the Balkans and Poland. They claimed that Jewish nationalists must precede the Messiah in beginning Jewish settlements in Palestine and thus speed his arrival. In Seeking Zion (Drishat Zion), published by Kalischer in 1862, he writes,

My dear reader! Cast aside the conventional view that the Messiah will suddenly sound a blast on the great trumpet and cause all the inhabitants of the earth to tremble. On the contrary, the Redemption will begin by awakening the support among philanthropists and by gaining the consent of the nations to the gathering of some of the scattered of Israel into the Holy Land.¹³

These three forerunners of Zionism were uniformly ignored by the Jewish community. In fact, Herzl later claimed that he had never read Rome and Jerusalem, a tract which so closely echoed his own thinking. Hess, Alkalai and Kalischer all spoke of Zionism at a time when the Jews of Western Europe were only beginning to feel the sweet taste of emancipation and when it was so important for the Jew to loudly declare his German, or French identity. The Orthodox world ignored

¹²Hess apparently had more hope for French Jewry, where it seemed that "liberal nationalism" would predominate and less hope for Jews in Germany where the nationalism had assumed a very romantic tone.

¹³Zvi Hirsch Kalischer, Drishat Zion (Seeking Zion), 1862, quoted in Hertzberg, p. 111.

Reschid. "Would you call a man a robber who takes nothing from you and brings you something instead? The Jews have enriched us...Why should we be angry with them? They dwell amongst us like brothers, why should we not love them? He (David Litwak) prays in a different house to the G-d who is above us all. But our houses of worship stand side by side, and I always believe that our prayers, when they rise, mingle somewhere above, and they continue on their way together until they appear before Our Father."

(Kingscourt again asks) "Very fine. Sounds reasonable. But you're an educated man. You've studied in Europe. I hardly think the simple country or town folk will be likely to think like you do."

(Reschid responds) "They more than anyone else...I did not learn tolerance in the Occident. We Moslems have always had better relations with the Jews than you Christians. When the first colonists settled here half a century ago, Arabs went to the Jews to judge between them and often asked Jewish village councils for help and advice. There was no difficulty in that respect. So long as the Gezer policy (recommending exclusion of non-Jews) does not win the upper hand all will be well in our brotherland."⁴¹

Herzl, in Altneuland, makes mention of Arab contribution to Palestinian culture before the arrival of the Jewish population, although from references within his political writings and speeches he seemed to have barely recognized the existence of an Arab population. Note the following exchange.

"We Jews introduced cultivation here," Steinek the architect said.

"Pardon me, sir," cried Reschid Bey with a friendly smile. "But this sort of thing was here before you came, at least there were signs of it. My father planted oranges extensively...This used to be my father's plantation. It's mine now."

"I don't deny that you had orange groves before we came," thundered Steinek. "But you could never get full value from them."

Reschid nodded. "That is correct. Our profit has grown considerably. Our orange transport has multiplied tenfold since we have had greater transportation facilities to connect us with the whole world. Everything here has increased in value since your immigration."⁴²

In light of Altneuland it becomes difficult to maintain

⁴¹Ibid., pp. 121-125. ⁴²Ibid., p. 121.

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The most direct and strongest comment on Arab-Jewish conflict in Between the Waters is the central episode in the novella where a Jewish guard is attacked and fatally injured by Arab marauders.

It was one of the ordinary arguments with the Arabs. The Arabs have arguments and complaints. They attack periodically. In recent days they had begun to uproot the plantings nightly. In one week they had uprooted twelve hundred plants. Tolerance had failed. The Jewish guard stood on duty. He called for help. The marauders hit him, wounded him, killed him.⁸

Brenner's cynical description of a eulogy by "one who tried to enter the psychology of the Arabs" refers to the Arab and Jewish claim to the land and likens the Palestinian situation to an erupting volcano.⁹ This passage, begun in bitter sarcasm, concludes in a painful and agonizing recognition of the heartrending tragedy of the Arab-Jewish dilemma.

Mikan Umikan (From Here and There) written by Brenner in 1911, again involves an Arab attack on a group of three travellers and the subsequent death of one.

The hunchback, all the documents for his trip back to Russia in his pocket, walked...admiring the Judean hills in the distance. The Arab horseman met them, coming from the side, stood for a moment, and asked a question. The travellers, not knowing a word in the foreign tongue did not understand the question. The horseman turned to them once more, but with a different voice.¹⁰

The passage describes the brutal attack after which its perpetrator "galloped away straight to his nearby tranquil village."¹¹

⁸Ibid. ⁹Ibid., p. 76.

¹⁰Y.H. Brenner, Mikan U'mikan (From Here and From There), in Kol Kitvei, vol. 4, p. 144. Although this novella, as well as "Between the Waters" were written shortly after the period dealt with in this study, there is a direct continuum within Brenner's writings from the period preceding his arrival in Palestine in 1909. These novellas best illustrate an attitude which remained constant until shortly before Brenner's death.

¹¹Ibid.

The victim, on his deathbed, recalls the incident and exclaims,

The signs are not good, the sign that the murderer is a native of the land, a native...his language the language of the land...he stands on his land...while he, the victim, he and his brother are strangers here, strangers.¹²

Brenner felt that the Jewish community reacted to acts of violence perpetrated against them in fear and defeatism, rather than through strength and courage. The dread of initiating a blood feud with Arab neighbors was so strong as to inhibit the yishuv in its ability to react forcefully to prevent reoccurrence of such episodes. In this novella only the victim's little son Amram, rejecting the traditional Kaddish prayer for the deceased, will commemorate his father's death through militancy.

From Here and There, like Between the Waters, articulates, though depreciatingly, the liberal tolerant position vis-a-vis the Arabs. The old grandfather, father of the deceased victim is described thus,

But the old man, the old man always spoke thus: "We may not pass judgment. We do not know them and let us not be like the Europeans who pass negative judgment on us because they do not know us. True, the natives are in a state of lowered moral standards, but we should not judge them unjustly. Let us not forget their ancient culture. The Arabs will reawaken and revive and truthfully we should revive them with us. We argue for Jewish labor because we need it itself. We must train ourselves in labor. In it we see the reawakening of the Jew and the human within us, but were it not in our case an abnormality of 'luftmenschen' were it not that work is so necessary for us ourselves, we should be happy that our settlements are giving a livelihood to the Arabs." Thus he would speak until it became unpleasant...and more than unpleasant. A wonder! Did he forget everything? Was it erased from his memory all that a member of that "ancient culture" did to him?¹³

¹²Ibid., p. 174.

¹³Ibid., p. 226.

Brenner's ambivalence to the Arab-Jewish question is clearly crystallized in the last passage of the novel where the pacifist grandfather and the young militant orphaned grandson, Amram, stand together symbols of hope and strength. Brenner, although pessimistic and fearful, recognized the more liberal humanistic-optimistic approach vis-a-vis the Arabs, but unwilling to ignore the potentialities for hatred and strife stood torn between the two positions. It is interesting that he has frequently been seen as a major proponent of the liberal tolerant position. Literary critics and leading writers of the generation following Brenner's death chose to read an oft quoted passage written shortly before he died in 1921 as Brenner's central message. In it he depicts a chance meeting between himself and a young Arab boy.

At that moment I blamed myself for the serious fault of not teaching myself Arabic. Here was...an orphan worker ...a young brother! Whether the theory of the scholars is right or not, whether you are related to me by blood or not, in any case responsibility for you rests on me. It was for me to enlighten you, to let you taste human relations...contact between people...from today and through generations...without any precise objective...without any deliberate aim except that of a brother, a friend, and a comrade...

"Goodbye, sir." The lad withdrew from me swiftly seeing that I was troubled and the conversation was over. But in his parting greeting one could see all the same, his great satisfaction that he had been able to engage unexpectedly in a worthwhile conversation with an adult and to speak with as much good sense as an old man uses on these occasions.

"Goodbye, my friend," I whispered and I pondered on about him and me. I continued wandering in the darkness of the evening.¹⁴

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on the part of Brenner in the last years of his life.¹⁶ Critics have also attempted to define an evolution in the writings of both Brenner and Rabbi Benjamin as the situation in the yishuv progressed and evolved. The optimistic Rabbi Benjamin became increasingly pragmatic in his thinking as the realities of Arab antagonism to the yishuv became evident. Brenner, on the other hand, whose reaction to the Arabs stemmed largely from disappointment and lack of confidence in the Zionist leadership and in the possibilities for success in the yishuv, became more secure as the years went on and as the number of successful settlements grew. With the realization of the effectiveness and growth of the Zionist endeavor, the Arabs became less threatening to him and he began to more frequently see them in terms of their human needs.¹⁷

It is crucial in understanding Brenner's view of Arab-Jewish relations that his early Palestinian works be seen within the larger context of his writing and of his outlook on life and philosophy. Many of Brenner's major characters are, like himself, members of the uprooted generation, self-probing, despairing, overwhelmed by life and often suicidal. As Jews they are self-criticizing and hopelessly pessimistic. Confirmed Zionists, they feel strongly that the solution to the desperate Jewish question lies in the land.

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¹⁷Ibid.

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Ahad Ha'am's most significant contribution to Zionist ideology became known as "spiritual Zionism." Well understanding the obliqueness of the concept, he explained that he meant Palestinian society to be "the expression in matter and space of the thought and culture of a people."⁶ Ahad Ha'am saw the Jewish nation as distinct in regard to its moral nature. He believed strongly in the Jewish mission to point out to all other nations the true essence of morality and justice. Unlike leaders in the Reform movement who believed that the Jews could accomplish this mission only through permanent dispersion in the Diaspora, Ahad Ha'am felt that the mission had to be discharged by founding a society with high standards of morality, ethics and justice. Recognizing that it was impossible to settle all Jews in Palestine, he proposed to establish there a spiritual center which would radiate its values to a greater part of the Jewish people in the Diaspora. He explained,

The object of the movement is only to create for our people a national center, the influence of which on the Diaspora, will be spiritual only in the sense that it will strengthen the morale, increase their sense of unity, and provide a suitable context for their life as Jews.⁷

In practice, Ahad Ha'am's spiritual Zionism affected his stance on matters of policy in Palestine. In discussing the issue of creating a totally Jewish labor force, for example, Ahad Ha'am explained why it was not crucial in his

⁶Bentwich, Ahad Ha'am and his Philosophy, Jerusalem, 1927, p. 19.

⁷Ibid., pp. 11, 19.

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to which they are ultimately drawn. The autobiographical elements of the story lie in the several characters who are clearly distinguishable from among Herzl's family, friends, and political opponents, and more importantly in the distinct atmosphere of fin-du-siecle.³⁵

Socially and culturally the society of "Altneuland", as Herzl pictured it, incorporates all that is progressive and elevated in the European environment, including the arts, theater, ballet and opera. European customs and fashions are mimicked fully.³⁶ In regard to language, the most classic gauge of nationalistic affiliation, German is used almost exclusively in daily life, while Hebrew is relegated to religious worship and occasional song. A fascinating but disturbing assumption on Herzl's part is that Jews are singularly uncreative and totally dependent on European culture. Their talent seems to lie only in adapting European cultural accomplishments to their own milieu.

A most basic premise in Altneuland is the virtue and beauty inherent in tolerance and brotherly love. Within the novel there is a political debate between two factions of Altneuland society about the rights of non-Jews to incorporate

³⁵There are references to the suicides of several friends of the hero, clearly reminiscent of Hans Kana, Herzl's comrade who had taken his life in desperation. The young hero is also unlucky in love, like Herzl himself whose personal life was fraught with strife.

³⁶There is a rather lengthy segment in the novel where the two heroes, anxious to attend the ballet in Altneuland, are unable to do so without the requisite white gloves, which they painstakingly acquire. The emphasis on appropriate dress is again reflective of Herzl's interest and insistence on standards of elegance and style.

Palestine in 1890 from Kiev became almost immediately acclimatized to life in the Middle East, working in several settlements before establishing his own farm in Rehovot. His works, especially Bnei Arav (Sons of Arabia) are richly descriptive of Arab village life, mores and values, and explore deeply the various forms of Arab-Jewish relationships.³⁰ While critics frequently make light of Smilansky's tales calling them "maudlin and sentimental" or "mawkish and paternalistic"³¹ they are nevertheless significant because they reflected what Fichman terms as "the first meeting between us and the natives while our perception was innocent and while we had the thirst of youth for visions."³²

Smilansky and Brenner, who are frequently compared, vary strongly in terms of style and approach. Two very important factors accentuate the differences between the two authors in relation to their attitude to the Palestinian situation in general and to the Arabs in particular. Brenner's comments about the yishuv must be read in the context of his earlier experience in Europe and in the light of the fate of European Jewry at large. Smilansky reacted to the people and soil of Palestine exclusively. While Smilansky described and related to Arabs as individuals, Brenner, except in his famous passage from From the Notebook quoted in this study,

³⁰ Moshe Smilansky, Bnei Arav (Sons of Arabia), Odessa, 1911. The various stories in Bnei Arav were published between 1908 and 1911.

³¹ Segal, p. 48.

³² Fichman, "Zichronot V'hirhurim" (Memories and Reflections), Moznayim, vol. 1, 1934, p. 83.

saw them always as a group, as an entire people. Ehud Ben Ezer delineates the significance of this phenomenon thus:

In Smilansky, that is to say in the Romantic period, there is a distinct relating to the Arab as an individual. And this is one of the crucial tests, if one relates to the Arab as an individual or as a group. Where one relates to him as an individual there is a romantic or moral approach. Where one relates to him in terms of a group, this is always associated with an approach of alienation, dread, and hostility.³³

While Smilansky did attempt in Sons of Arabia to give the reader an insight into the customs and mores of Arab village life, he nevertheless felt free in these stories, rather than in those based on yishuv life, to imbue his personalities with temperaments, values, physical and emotional characteristics which might effectively embellish his tale. In his yishuv stories, on the other hand, Smilansky became the patriot as well as the storyteller and commented on the social and political problems in Palestine. While it is true that there is an implied criticism of Arab values and social institutions inherent in the Arab tales whose heroes are most often the unfortunate, the persecuted and rootless elements in Arab society, the author's main intention was to capture the imagination of the reader, giving free reign to fantasy.

Love, usually characterized as obsessive infatuation, plays a crucial role in Smilansky's Arab tales, usually moving the hero toward a tragic end. In "Chavaja Shoded", for example, the gentle hero assassinates his beloved after she had been defiled by his enemies, and becomes a notorious

³³ Ehud Ben Ezer, "The Arab Question in Our Literature--Second Conversation With Ehud Ben Ezer," Shdemot, Spring 1972, pp. 44-47.

strength.¹²

Jamal al-Din al-Afghani (1839-1897), the originator of the Pan-Islamic movement, emphasized the acceptability of reason in Islam which accords much dignity to man and to the possibilities of human endeavor. He wrote that since the Islamic world had failed to develop properly because of Turkish misrule, it can only regain its former glory and fulfill its potential if it finds internal unity. Assabiyya, solidarity as expressed in the Pan-Islamic movement, was to al-Afghani the only means by which the Islamic world could ever compete successfully with the West.

Muhammad Abduh (1849-1905), one of al-Afghani's most prominent followers and colleagues, supported a Salafiyya, a recalling of the ways of the ancestors in order to unify all Moslems. For Abduh it represented the most effective method of stripping Islam of dogma and superstition, in order to arrive at a pure Islam which accepted reason and was open to change. Only a purified Islam could conceivably compete with a rationalist and technologically sophisticated West.

For Rashid Rida (d. 1935), one of Abduh's most influential disciples, the only significance of Salafiyya lay in its power to return Moslems to a purer form of worship. The contribution of Abduh and Rashid Rida was essentially in their strong

¹²C. Ernest Dawn distinguishes between different types of reactions to the challenge of Western technology. The conservative Moslem insists that the Islamic world is superior and continues to reject any attempts at Westernization. Some admit to some inferiority in the Moslem world but insist that a return to a purer form of Islam would enable the Moslems to compete with the West. Abduh and other such thinkers insist that Islam must accept the changing world and become part of it. (C. Ernest Dawn, From Ottomanism to Arabism, Illinois, 1973, pp. 122-147.)

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on the part of Brenner in the last years of his life.¹⁶ Critics have also attempted to define an evolution in the writings of both Brenner and Rabbi Benjamin as the situation in the yishuv progressed and evolved. The optimistic Rabbi Benjamin became increasingly pragmatic in his thinking as the realities of Arab antagonism to the yishuv became evident. Brenner, on the other hand, whose reaction to the Arabs stemmed largely from disappointment and lack of confidence in the Zionist leadership and in the possibilities for success in the yishuv, became more secure as the years went on and as the number of successful settlements grew. With the realization of the effectiveness and growth of the Zionist endeavor, the Arabs became less threatening to him and he began to more frequently see them in terms of their human needs.¹⁷

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¹⁷Ibid.

In "Aravi Bizchut Haivrim" (An Arab Defense of the Jews), published in 1907, Chermoni discusses the work of a Christian Arab, Farid Qatsab, The Arab Kingdom, the Curia Romana and the Fictitious Jewish Danger, a bitingly sharp critique of Azhour's work. Chermoni assumes that just as Azhour had been the mouthpiece of British propaganda, and Jung the representative of French biases, Qatsab in this work served as the spokesman of Turkish authorities. Qatsab denies the validity of Azhour's manifesto, contending that the large number of Moslem Arabs would never have entrusted their national hopes to the hands of Azhour, a Christian. Chermoni is encouraged by Qatsab's enthusiasm on the score of Zionist aspirations, claiming that his views represent the opinions of not one Arab, but the more crucial good will of the Turkish authorities. Chermoni therefore sees a good relationship with the Turks as an essential element of Zionist strategy.¹¹

One of the earliest essays on the subject of Jewish attitudes to Arabs is Yitzchak Epstein's "Sheela Neelama" (The Unseen Question), which was first presented as a talk at the seventh Zionist Congress of 1905 and was published in Hashiloach in 1907. This work was important in that it created a dialogue and controversy which found continuous expression in the press. Epstein's most important premise is that in order to establish a strong Jewish hold in Palestine, cooperation with the Arab fellah is crucial. Therefore extreme

¹¹Chermoni, "Aravi Bizchut Haivrim" (An Arab in Defense of Jewish Rights), Hashiloach, XVII, Jan. 1908, pp. 360-365.

Although Smilansky evidently took great pride in most aspects of Jewish culture and in the development of the yishuv, on occasion he, like Brenner, expressed preference for Arab custom. In "Chavaja Nazar," for example, Smilansky expresses disdain for the devoutly pious Jew, the unkempt inkeeper, expressing admiration for the Arab boatsman "with eyes of fire and a body of marble."⁴¹ While Brenner's attitude reflected an overwhelming self-critical and negative approach to yishuv developments, due to elements of conflict within his own personality, Smilansky seems to reject only those aspects of Jewish life most strongly reminiscent of Shtetl life in Europe.⁴² Characteristically, the old yishuv community especially in Jerusalem, which was firmly rooted in tradition and was economically dependent on the European Jewish community drew the almost closedminded disdain of the young olim who sought to establish a new style of life in Palestine. Smilansky and Brenner awaited the development of a new type of Jew who would internalize those values and modes consonant with the new type of Jewish existence close to the land and in harmony with nature. Therefore for both authors Arabs held a special fascination and charm.

While Smilanski's works generally reflected Arab-Jewish relations at their best, they also related to the potential for conflict and violence between the two communities.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 25.

⁴² Shtetl, the diminutive form of stadt, (city) is the Yiddish equivalent of a small village and usually refers to the small communities of Eastern Europe.

Russification, especially by poets like Peretz Smolenskin, coincided with the end of the liberal era of Alexander II. Smolenskin likened those who denigrated the Jewish tradition to thieves who rob the Jewish people of both the crutch of nationalism and of religion and are then astounded to see it fall.¹¹ His call was initially only for the return to Jewish pride and became a demand for the return to Palestine only after the pogroms of the 1880s.

Although the history of modern Zionism begins in effect in the late nineteenth century with the development of the Hibbat Zion movement and with Herzl's commitment to the cause, there were earlier in the century cogent and explicit expressions of the Zionist ideal.

Moses Hess, a German born Jew, exiled to France, wrote Rome and Jerusalem in 1862. A man of Bohemian lifestyle and largely non-Jewish involvements, Hess became disillusioned with the quality of the revolutions of 1848. He predated Herzl in his keen understanding of the problem of anti-Semitism and in his arrival at the conclusion that only a land of their own would solve the Jews' problem in Europe. Hess noted the change in the nature of nationalism from the "liberal nationalism" of the Enlightenment era to the "romantic nationalism" which spoke to the national soul and the history of the folk. In the development of "romantic nationalism" it seemed to Hess that the hope of assimilationist Jewry and of the Reform Jewish movement to achieve acceptance and emancipation

¹¹ Peretz Smolenskin, "The Haskalah of Berlin," 1883, quoted in Hertzberg, p. 155.

saw them always as a group, as an entire people. Ehud Ben Ezer delineates the significance of this phenomenon thus:

In Smilansky, that is to say in the Romantic period, there is a distinct relating to the Arab as an individual. And this is one of the crucial tests, if one relates to the Arab as an individual or as a group. Where one relates to him as an individual there is a romantic or moral approach. Where one relates to him in terms of a group, this is always associated with an approach of alienation, dread, and hostility.³³

While Smilansky did attempt in Sons of Arabia to give the reader an insight into the customs and mores of Arab village life, he nevertheless felt free in these stories, rather than in those based on yishuv life, to imbue his personalities with temperaments, values, physical and emotional characteristics which might effectively embellish his tale. In his yishuv stories, on the other hand, Smilansky became the patriot as well as the storyteller and commented on the social and political problems in Palestine. While it is true that there is an implied criticism of Arab values and social institutions inherent in the Arab tales whose heroes are most often the unfortunate, the persecuted and rootless elements in Arab society, the author's main intention was to capture the imagination of the reader, giving free reign to fantasy.

Love, usually characterized as obsessive infatuation, plays a crucial role in Smilansky's Arab tales, usually moving the hero toward a tragic end. In "Chavaja Shoded", for example, the gentle hero assassinates his beloved after she had been defiled by his enemies, and becomes a notorious

³³ Ehud Ben Ezer, "The Arab Question in Our Literature--Second Conversation With Ehud Ben Ezer," Shdemot, Spring 1972, pp. 44-47.

on the part of Brenner in the last years of his life.¹⁶ Critics have also attempted to define an evolution in the writings of both Brenner and Rabbi Benjamin as the situation in the yishuv progressed and evolved. The optimistic Rabbi Benjamin became increasingly pragmatic in his thinking as the realities of Arab antagonism to the yishuv became evident. Brenner, on the other hand, whose reaction to the Arabs stemmed largely from disappointment and lack of confidence in the Zionist leadership and in the possibilities for success in the yishuv, became more secure as the years went on and as the number of successful settlements grew. With the realization of the effectiveness and growth of the Zionist endeavor, the Arabs became less threatening to him and he began to more frequently see them in terms of their human needs.¹⁷

It is crucial in understanding Brenner's view of Arab-Jewish relations that his early Palestinian works be seen within the larger context of his writing and of his outlook on life and philosophy. Many of Brenner's major characters are, like himself, members of the uprooted generation, self-probing, despairing, overwhelmed by life and often suicidal. As Jews they are self-criticizing and hopelessly pessimistic. Confirmed Zionists, they feel strongly that the solution to the desperate Jewish question lies in the land.

A land, a land that we might soon attain, a land in which we can soon begin to build our houses. A land, not for

¹⁶Yaakov Rabinowitz, "Al Brenner" (About Brenner), Maznayim, 22, 1932, pp. 5-9.

¹⁷Ibid.

Brenner's ambivalence to the Arab-Jewish question is clearly crystallized in the last passage of the novel where the pacifist grandfather and the young militant orphaned grandson, Amram, stand together symbols of hope and strength. Brenner, although pessimistic and fearful, recognized the more liberal humanistic-optimistic approach vis-a-vis the Arabs, but unwilling to ignore the potentialities for hatred and strife stood torn between the two positions. It is interesting that he has frequently been seen as a major proponent of the liberal tolerant position. Literary critics and leading writers of the generation following Brenner's death chose to read an oft quoted passage written shortly before he died in 1921 as Brenner's central message. In it he depicts a chance meeting between himself and a young Arab boy.

At that moment I blamed myself for the serious fault of not teaching myself Arabic. Here was...an orphan worker ...a young brother! Whether the theory of the scholars is right or not, whether you are related to me by blood or not, in any case responsibility for you rests on me. It was for me to enlighten you, to let you taste human relations...contact between people...from today and through generations...without any precise objective...without any deliberate aim except that of a brother, a friend, and a comrade...

"Goodbye, sir." The lad withdrew from me swiftly seeing that I was troubled and the conversation was over. But in his parting greeting one could see all the same, his great satisfaction that he had been able to engage unexpectedly in a worthwhile conversation with an adult and to speak with as much good sense as an old man uses on these occasions.

"Goodbye, my friend," I whispered and I pondered on about him and me. I continued wandering in the darkness of the evening.¹⁴

Lest one be tempted to hypothesize that Brenner had

¹⁴Y.H. Brenner, "From the Notebook," Kol Kitvei Y.H. Brenner, vol. 7, p. 116.

by Joshua Ben Moshe, and Yardeni's "Ali"⁵⁴ involve the fatalism of love a la Smilansky.

The Arabization of the Jew is an important theme in the works of several authors in the early period, especially Zeev Yaavetz, the noted romanticist who sought in his stories to recreate in modern Palestine the traditions and milieu of his beloved Biblical period. In "The New Year of the Trees"⁵⁵ and in "Travelling Through the Land"⁵⁶ Arab attire represents the freedom and strength of the earlier period, as well as the key toward peace in Palestine where Arab and Jew could coexist only if the Jew would display courage, strength and zeal. Anxious to reawaken within modern Jewry a recognition and love for its past, Yaavetz finds elements in Arab culture which echo Hebrew Biblical tradition and bear striking resemblance to Orthodox Jewish modes. The crucial role of hospitality within Arab social life for example, immediately conjures the image of the Patriarch Abraham in the minds of Biblically versed Jews. Another note of familiarity is the Arab kaffiya about which Yaavetz remarks:

For it is ancient and is a sister to the "tallit" (prayer shawl) with which our fathers wrapped themselves. From afar when one sees a fellah wrapped in his entire costume, it appears to him as the dress of our brethren on the Day of Atonement (Yom Kippur).⁵⁷

⁵⁴Yardeni, "Ali," Haolam, 1908, no. 26, pp. 349-350.

⁵⁵Zeev Yaavetz, "A New Year of the Trees," Mivchar Hasipur Haaretz Yisraeli (Selected Israeli Stories), Raphael Patai, Jerusalem, p. 18.

⁵⁶Zeev Yaavetz, "Wandering Through the Land," Kovetz Haaretz, Jerusalem, 1891, p. 3.

⁵⁷Ibid.

"Gida" by Karman reflects a more absolute internalization of Arabic values. The story involves the coming of age of a young man who adopts the values of the old Arab guard Muhammed. From Muhammed the boy learns how to speak Arabic, how to ride and to wrestle, how to become a "gida," a man of valor. In an encounter with a fierce bedouin he is introduced to the importance of the horse, the weapon, and the woman in the gida's life. The boy's courage is later put to the test in defense of his settlement against Arab attack, yet his relationship with the neighboring Arab communities remains constant and close. In this story, as in Smilansky's "Chavaja Nazar," the hero is acknowledged in the Jewish community in relation to the acceptance he finds in the Arab village. The reader is uncertain about whether there is a note of misgiving in the author's comment that the Jewish boy is perceived by Arabs as "more Arab than Jew" and that he is described as "a bedouin, the son of a bedouin, the grandson of a bedouin."⁵⁸ In the same story, however, Karman expresses the admiration felt by the Arabs toward Jewish farmer.

He softens the land and clears it for the next generation for the new strong, proud generation.⁵⁹

This theme of Arab admiration for Jewish culture, ideas, and ideals is perhaps most cogently expressed in "The

⁵⁸Karman, "Gida", Hashiloach, 1907, vol. 17. Note Klausner's (Ish Ivri) article "Misgivings" (Hashiloach, 1907, p. 574) which expressed the same hesitation about Jewish acculturation into Arab society.

⁵⁹Karman, p. 493.

strength.¹²

Jamal al-Din al-Afghani (1839-1897), the originator of the Pan-Islamic movement, emphasized the acceptability of reason in Islam which accords much dignity to man and to the possibilities of human endeavor. He wrote that since the Islamic world had failed to develop properly because of Turkish misrule, it can only regain its former glory and fulfill its potential if it finds internal unity. Assabiyya, solidarity as expressed in the Pan-Islamic movement, was to al-Afghani the only means by which the Islamic world could ever compete successfully with the West.

Muhammad Abduh (1849-1905), one of al-Afghani's most prominent followers and colleagues, supported a Salafiyya, a recalling of the ways of the ancestors in order to unify all Moslems. For Abduh it represented the most effective method of stripping Islam of dogma and superstition, in order to arrive at a pure Islam which accepted reason and was open to change. Only a purified Islam could conceivably compete with a rationalist and technologically sophisticated West.

For Rashid Rida (d. 1935), one of Abduh's most influential disciples, the only significance of Salafiyya lay in its power to return Moslems to a purer form of worship. The contribution of Abduh and Rashid Rida was essentially in their strong

¹²C. Ernest Dawn distinguishes between different types of reactions to the challenge of Western technology. The conservative Moslem insists that the Islamic world is superior and continues to reject any attempts at Westernization. Some admit to some inferiority in the Moslem world but insist that a return to a purer form of Islam would enable the Moslems to compete with the West. Abduh and other such thinkers insist that Islam must accept the changing world and become part of it. (C. Ernest Dawn, From Ottomanism to Arabism, Illinois, 1973, pp. 122-147.)

Brenner's ambivalence to the Arab-Jewish question is clearly crystallized in the last passage of the novel where the pacifist grandfather and the young militant orphaned grandson, Amram, stand together symbols of hope and strength. Brenner, although pessimistic and fearful, recognized the more liberal humanistic-optimistic approach vis-a-vis the Arabs, but unwilling to ignore the potentialities for hatred and strife stood torn between the two positions. It is interesting that he has frequently been seen as a major proponent of the liberal tolerant position. Literary critics and leading writers of the generation following Brenner's death chose to read an oft quoted passage written shortly before he died in 1921 as Brenner's central message. In it he depicts a chance meeting between himself and a young Arab boy.

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CONQUEST OF LABOR--A CASE STUDY

One of the issues seriously affecting the nature of Arab-Jewish relations is the attempt of young Jewish olim to enter the labor force in Palestine. The large literature of the First and Second Aliya records in detail the push toward kibbush avodah, literally translated as "conquest of labor."¹ This chapter will examine the literature surrounding this particularly difficult and vital issue in an attempt to provide a case study of Jewish attitudes to the Arab population of Palestine.

The First Aliya, spanning the last two decades of the 1800s and ending in 1904, was characterized by the almost exclusive use of Arab labor on Jewish-owned land. The small number of original olim had purchased land and, unable to farm it solely by their own hands, had turned to neighboring Arab villages. David Ben Gurion in 1907 described the urgent need of Arab labor in Petach Tikvah,

It is harvest time and the panic is great. There are no workers...Messengers left hurriedly and excitedly for the distant Arab villages begging the Arabs to "save the community and give us your children for just a few days" ...And what a beautiful sight it was to see little Arab boys and girls from the age of four and upwards leaving the Arab village with the foreman at their head.²

¹See page 136 of this study for illucidation of the implications of this term vis-a-vis the Arab community.

²David Ben Gurion, Jewish Labor, Tel Aviv, 1932, p. 11.

The victim, on his deathbed, recalls the incident and exclaims,

The signs are not good, the sign that the murderer is a native of the land, a native...his language the language of the land...he stands on his land...while he, the victim, he and his brother are strangers here, strangers.¹²

Brenner felt that the Jewish community reacted to acts of violence perpetrated against them in fear and defeatism, rather than through strength and courage. The dread of initiating a blood feud with Arab neighbors was so strong as to inhibit the yishuv in its ability to react forcefully to prevent reoccurrence of such episodes. In this novella only the victim's little son Amram, rejecting the traditional Kaddish prayer for the deceased, will commemorate his father's death through militancy.

From Here and There, like Between the Waters, articulates, though depreciatingly, the liberal tolerant position vis-a-vis the Arabs. The old grandfather, father of the deceased victim is described thus,

But the old man, the old man always spoke thus: "We may not pass judgment. We do not know them and let us not be like the Europeans who pass negative judgment on us because they do not know us. True, the natives are in a state of lowered moral standards, but we should not judge them unjustly. Let us not forget their ancient culture. The Arabs will reawaken and revive and truthfully we should revive them with us. We argue for Jewish labor because we need it itself. We must train ourselves in labor. In it we see the reawakening of the Jew and the human within us, but were it not in our case an abnormality of 'luftmenschen' were it not that work is so necessary for us ourselves, we should be happy that our settlements are giving a livelihood to the Arabs." Thus he would speak until it became unpleasant...and more than unpleasant. A wonder! Did he forget everything? Was it erased from his memory all that a member of that "ancient culture" did to him?¹³

¹²Ibid., p. 174.

¹³Ibid., p. 226.

their very special status within Islam. This awareness can be defined as their Arab consciousness. When this consciousness became the basis of their demands for political rights, Arab nationalism was born.³

In attempting to assess the influence of early nineteenth century personalities and events on the evolution of Arab nationalism one cannot overlook the effect of Napoleon, the Wahhabis, and Muhammad Ali on the Arab people. Napoleon, who arrived in Egypt in 1798, was crucial in that he shocked the Middle East out of a period of stagnation into a confrontation with the Western world, its power, and its culture. The arrival of the printing press, which helped return to the Arabs their own literary tradition, and the resentment Napoleon inspired against the encroachment of Western influence, perhaps helped sow the seeds of Arab consciousness and discontent.⁴

A very early phenomenon, often described as the initial manifestation of nationalism in Arabia was the Wahhabi movement which was a concentrated attack on the religious laxity of the Ottoman government and Sultan and the influence of the ungodly West. Although the Wahhabi movement was religious in scope, calling for the return to the purity of an earlier era in Islam, it remained significant in that it recalled

³Yehoshua Porath, The Emergence of the Palestinian-Arab National Movement, 1918-1929, London, 1974, p. 20.

⁴Hisham Sharabi, Arab Intellectuals and the West, Baltimore, 1970, p. 35.

his relationship with the settlers, especially in regard to their essential goals of independence and social equality, was unfortunate. In time, these early settlers became not very different from ordinary plantation owners, using cheap hired labor and working for commercial profit.²²

In Europe the 1884 Kattowitz Congress of the Hibbat Zion movement set up the machinery which was to represent Zionist activity in the East until the first World War. Pinsker was elected President at that meeting but although such slogans as "return to the soil" were stressed, the organization became involved in relatively petty issues and was never able to effectively clarify the scope of its activity. One of the many problems besetting the organization was a lack of cohesiveness and wranglings between the orthodox element, the secularists and the cultural Zionists which served to severely limit its contribution toward the Zionist cause.

Whereas there existed in Eastern Europe a deep longing for Palestine and a passionate nationalistic feeling among many Jews, the institutions designed to deal with Palestinian settlements were highly ineffective, and it was only when Zionism became a burning ideal in the West that effective moves were made to turn the dream of the return to Zion into a reality. The Dreyfus trial and scandal of 1894-1898 was that traumatic event which proved to many Western Jews that anti-Semitism was and would forever be a burden and barrier to Jewish emancipation.

²²See chapter on Conquest of Labor, p. 118.

view of cultural rather than political Zionism to capture the entire labor market. He wrote,

I do not ask for instance what is the use of a Hebrew colony which employs Arab labor and not exclusively Jewish labor. That question is important if we regard the present yishuv as the foundation of a state. But if we look at it only from my point of view, asking how it can influence the spirit of the people as a whole, this drawback, serious though it is, cannot be regarded as fatal. If a large number of settlements of a truly Hebrew character are established, there is no doubt that they will have a great influence on Jewish life, even if they don't employ exclusively Jewish labor.⁸

While Herzl was most concerned with the political viability of Jewish settlement in Palestine and denied the usefulness of any efforts at enlarging the Yishuv until a charter had been attained, Ahad Ha'am felt that a successful limited settlement in Palestine was crucial in order to psychologically orient the Jewish people toward pride in their national heritage. Herzl's major concern was on behalf of oppressed Jews; Ahad Ha'am's interests centered upon the plight of a beleaguered Judaism. Fortunately in the beginning of the twentieth century Zionism was able to integrate the values and aims of both cultural or spiritual Zionism as expressed by Ahad Ha'am and Herzl's political Zionism.

Ahad Ha'am's impact on young Zionists of his generation was powerful, although his views were unpopular with those leaders who differed sharply with him on the issues of Zionist policy. He seemed to lack an appreciation of the emotional appeal and romance of the Zionist cause and was referred to as a "detached seer" and "moral conscience" who

⁸L. Simon, Letters, Essays, and Memoirs, London, 1946, p. 260. (Letter to M. Dizengoff, London, 1912.)

large numbers of Arab laborers, justified this practice citing the Arabs' acclimatization to the environment, their resistance to disease, as well as the good relations between the Arab and Jewish communities which would be terminated abruptly if the Arab worker would be neglected. Most crucially, however, he felt that Jews were foolishly and unthinkingly denying the value of an agricultural tradition which spanned centuries.

Of course it is possible to introduce into farming in Palestine many of the improvements established in Europe recently. But, nevertheless, let us not forget that all that the fellahs do was a result of thousands of years. The Arabs are working the lands of Israel for more than a thousand years and before that they worked a land similar to our land. It is impossible that all their work is one big mistake.⁹

One of the more subtle deterrents to the wide use of Jewish labor, however, was the difficulty in establishing a communicative rapport between the newly arriving labor youth and their perspective employers. Eliyahu Zeev Levin-Epstein, one of the founders of the settlement of Rechovot, recalls in his memoirs that the Baron's administrators saw the employment of Jews as but another form of their benefactor's charitable works.¹⁰ This attitude communicated itself clearly to the Jewish laborers and exacerbated the festering resentment between the two groups. The pioneers of the First Aliya felt themselves derided and mocked by the brasher, more revolutionary group.¹¹ Menachem Ussishkin, a primary sponsor and

⁹Aryeh Samsonow, Zichron Yaakov, Parshat Divrei Yameha (Zichron Yaakov, its History), Zichron Yaakov, 1943, p. 340.

¹⁰A.Z. Levin-Epstein, Zichronotai (My Memoirs), Tel Aviv, 1932, p. 156.

¹¹G. Kressel, Sefer Hayovel L'Petach Tikvah, Em Hamoshavot (Jubilee Volume of Petach Tikvah, Matriarch of the Settlements), Petach Tikva, 1953.

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⁵⁶Zeev Yaavetz, "Wandering Through the Land," Kovetz Haaretz, Jerusalem, 1891, p. 3.

⁵⁷Ibid.

cultural superiority of the Jew. He implies a moral responsibility on the part of the Jew to share medical and educational facilities with the less fortunate Arab neighbor, warning simultaneously that should such cooperation and tolerance be lacking the Jew might find that he had tampered with a sleeping lion. Epstein cautions that the Jew deal carefully with the Arab but concludes his article on an optimistic note quoting a passage from Jeremiah, "Let us teach them the good way and let us also be built."¹⁵

In her strong retort to Epstein's essay Nechama Puchatzevsky, writing from the settlement Rishon Letzion, partially denies the severity of Arab anti-Semitism, pointing out their awareness of the improvement in the quality of life promoted by Jewish settlement in Palestine. She claims, however, that at the root of Arab resentment lies the landless condition of the Jews. She refers to the "eternal hatred for a nation exiled from its land"¹⁶ and points out that anti-Semitism in Russia, too, where Jews were engaged in revolutionary work on behalf of the Russian people, stems only from their rightless condition itself.

Puchatzevsky rejects Epstein's suggestion that Jews develop marginal farm land for Jewish settlement, explaining that the chaotic financial circumstances of the existing settlements would necessarily bar any heavy investments in the

¹⁵Ibid., p. 206.

¹⁶Nechama Puchatzevsky, "Sheelot Gluyot" (Obvious Questions), Hashiloach, 1907, p. 86.

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Jamal al-Din al-Afghani (1839-1897), the originator of the Pan-Islamic movement, emphasized the acceptability of reason in Islam which accords much dignity to man and to the possibilities of human endeavor. He wrote that since the Islamic world had failed to develop properly because of Turkish misrule, it can only regain its former glory and fulfill its potential if it finds internal unity. Assabiyya, solidarity as expressed in the Pan-Islamic movement, was to al-Afghani the only means by which the Islamic world could ever compete successfully with the West.

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on the part of Brenner in the last years of his life.¹⁶ Critics have also attempted to define an evolution in the writings of both Brenner and Rabbi Benjamin as the situation in the yishuv progressed and evolved. The optimistic Rabbi Benjamin became increasingly pragmatic in his thinking as the realities of Arab antagonism to the yishuv became evident. Brenner, on the other hand, whose reaction to the Arabs stemmed largely from disappointment and lack of confidence in the Zionist leadership and in the possibilities for success in the yishuv, became more secure as the years went on and as the number of successful settlements grew. With the realization of the effectiveness and growth of the Zionist endeavor, the Arabs became less threatening to him and he began to more frequently see them in terms of their human needs.¹⁷

It is crucial in understanding Brenner's view of Arab-Jewish relations that his early Palestinian works be seen within the larger context of his writing and of his outlook on life and philosophy. Many of Brenner's major characters are, like himself, members of the uprooted generation, self-probing, despairing, overwhelmed by life and often suicidal. As Jews they are self-criticizing and hopelessly pessimistic. Confirmed Zionists, they feel strongly that the solution to the desperate Jewish question lies in the land.

A land, a land that we might soon attain, a land in which we can soon begin to build our houses. A land, not for

¹⁶Yaakov Rabinowitz, "Al Brenner" (About Brenner), Maznayim, 22, 1932, pp. 5-9.

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While national movements generally express themselves in a struggle for independence and sovereignty over a land in which at least a large portion of the population dwells, for the Zionist movement no such land existed. This situation was complicated by the differences in opinion among Zionists as to whether the goal of political sovereignty, which is assumed to be the essential principle of all other national movements, is most important to Zionism. For Herzl, for example, settlement was worthless without the political charter while Ahad Ha'am insisted that a spiritual center was primary.

Whereas nationalist movements generally seek to revive lethargic national feelings, Zionism had to do battle with two very viable and energetic positions, orthodox and reform movements in Judaism. Both at various times were vociferously opposed to the fledgling movement.

Is Zionism tied to the physical entity of Palestine? On that issue too there existed a variance of opinion. Ideologists such as Ahad Ha'am, Borochoy and Gordon felt that only in Palestine can the Jew feel at home and that there existed in the Jewish national memory a longing for its old land. Pinsker and Herzl, while admitting the validity of these ideas, nevertheless insisted that in order to insure its survival the Jew might be forced to create a new national home.

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It is crucial in reading Ahad Ha'am's works that one be aware of the moral standpoint from which he surveyed the Middle Eastern situation, and understand that in each and every protest or condemnation of Jewish or Arab activity in Palestine, the emphasis lay on equal rights and high standards of justice in the relation between nations.

The clearest expression of Ahad Ha'am's views about the relationship between the individual and society and of the moral code which binds men and nations together is contained in his philosophical articles. Together with his critiques of Zionist policy and observations on yishuv life these are collected in the four volumes of Al Parashat Derachim (At the Crossroads).

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CONQUEST OF LABOR--A CASE STUDY

One of the issues seriously affecting the nature of Arab-Jewish relations is the attempt of young Jewish olim to enter the labor force in Palestine. The large literature of the First and Second Aliya records in detail the push toward kibbush avodah, literally translated as "conquest of labor."¹ This chapter will examine the literature surrounding this particularly difficult and vital issue in an attempt to provide a case study of Jewish attitudes to the Arab population of Palestine.

The First Aliya, spanning the last two decades of the 1800s and ending in 1904, was characterized by the almost exclusive use of Arab labor on Jewish-owned land. The small number of original olim had purchased land and, unable to farm it solely by their own hands, had turned to neighboring Arab villages. David Ben Gurion in 1907 described the urgent need of Arab labor in Petach Tikvah,

It is harvest time and the panic is great. There are no workers...Messengers left hurriedly and excitedly for the distant Arab villages begging the Arabs to "save the community and give us your children for just a few days" ...And what a beautiful sight it was to see little Arab boys and girls from the age of four and upwards leaving the Arab village with the foreman at their head.²

¹See page 136 of this study for illucidation of the implications of this term vis-a-vis the Arab community.

²David Ben Gurion, Jewish Labor, Tel Aviv, 1932, p. 11.

died. How can a Jew share in the folk history of another nation?¹²

Rabbi Yehuda Alkalai (1798-1878) and Rabbi Zvi Hirsch Kalischer (1795-1875) spoke to the religious problem involving the nature of messianic intervention and the return to Zion. Both were deeply influenced by nationalist movements in Italy, Germany, the Balkans and Poland. They claimed that Jewish nationalists must precede the Messiah in beginning Jewish settlements in Palestine and thus speed his arrival. In Seeking Zion (Drishat Zion), published by Kalischer in 1862, he writes,

My dear reader! Cast aside the conventional view that the Messiah will suddenly sound a blast on the great trumpet and cause all the inhabitants of the earth to tremble. On the contrary, the Redemption will begin by awakening the support among philanthropists and by gaining the consent of the nations to the gathering of some of the scattered of Israel into the Holy Land.¹³

These three forerunners of Zionism were uniformly ignored by the Jewish community. In fact, Herzl later claimed that he had never read Rome and Jerusalem, a tract which so closely echoed his own thinking. Hess, Alkalai and Kalischer all spoke of Zionism at a time when the Jews of Western Europe were only beginning to feel the sweet taste of emancipation and when it was so important for the Jew to loudly declare his German, or French identity. The Orthodox world ignored

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their very special status within Islam. This awareness can be defined as their Arab consciousness. When this consciousness became the basis of their demands for political rights, Arab nationalism was born.³

In attempting to assess the influence of early nineteenth century personalities and events on the evolution of Arab nationalism one cannot overlook the effect of Napoleon, the Wahhabis, and Muhammad Ali on the Arab people. Napoleon, who arrived in Egypt in 1798, was crucial in that he shocked the Middle East out of a period of stagnation into a confrontation with the Western world, its power, and its culture. The arrival of the printing press, which helped return to the Arabs their own literary tradition, and the resentment Napoleon inspired against the encroachment of Western influence, perhaps helped sow the seeds of Arab consciousness and discontent.⁴

A very early phenomenon, often described as the initial manifestation of nationalism in Arabia was the Wahhabi movement which was a concentrated attack on the religious laxity of the Ottoman government and Sultan and the influence of the ungodly West. Although the Wahhabi movement was religious in scope, calling for the return to the purity of an earlier era in Islam, it remained significant in that it recalled

³Yehoshua Porath, The Emergence of the Palestinian-Arab National Movement, 1918-1929, London, 1974, p. 20.

⁴Hisham Sharabi, Arab Intellectuals and the West, Baltimore, 1970, p. 35.

well.

Ahad Ha'am's most significant contribution to Zionist ideology became known as "spiritual Zionism." Well understanding the obliqueness of the concept, he explained that he meant Palestinian society to be "the expression in matter and space of the thought and culture of a people."⁶ Ahad Ha'am saw the Jewish nation as distinct in regard to its moral nature. He believed strongly in the Jewish mission to point out to all other nations the true essence of morality and justice. Unlike leaders in the Reform movement who believed that the Jews could accomplish this mission only through permanent dispersion in the Diaspora, Ahad Ha'am felt that the mission had to be discharged by founding a society with high standards of morality, ethics and justice. Recognizing that it was impossible to settle all Jews in Palestine, he proposed to establish there a spiritual center which would radiate its values to a greater part of the Jewish people in the Diaspora. He explained,

The object of the movement is only to create for our people a national center, the influence of which on the Diaspora, will be spiritual only in the sense that it will strengthen the morale, increase their sense of unity,⁷ and provide a suitable context for their life as Jews.

In practice, Ahad Ha'am's spiritual Zionism affected his stance on matters of policy in Palestine. In discussing the issue of creating a totally Jewish labor force, for example, Ahad Ha'am explained why it was not crucial in his

⁶Bentwich, Ahad Ha'am and his Philosophy, Jerusalem, 1927, p. 19.

⁷Ibid., pp. 11, 19.

For the Satmar among other Chasidic sects worldwide and for the Neturei Karta sect in Israel, only the Messiah can summon the era during which the Jewish nation will resume its political existence and any attempt to create a Jewish state prior to his arrival constitutes sin.⁴

Many Orthodox Jews have become Zionists with the conviction that the era marking the formation of the State of Israel is the "beginning of the redemption" (Hatchalta D'geula) and that any Jew who contributes financially and actively to the State is helping in bringing about the messianic period.⁵

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the Jewish labor issue rationalized the conflicting goals of conquest of labor and the international brotherhood of the proletariat, hoping that the dismissal of the Arab laborer would erase the hostility created by the Jewish employer-Arab employee relationship. The economic boom, which they saw forthcoming in Palestine as a result of the investment of Jewish energies there, would favorably affect the Arab population as well, and both peoples could then live together in peace. Attempts to unite with Arab workers in an effort to coerce employers to improve work conditions ended in failure, as Arabs often simply disregarded negotiations with Jewish labor representatives and willingly returned to work.⁶²

After the revolution in Turkey, in the face of burgeoning Arab nationalism, many Palestinian Jews began to see the problem of Jewish labor as by no means one-sided or clear-cut. Yechiel Michael Pines, foremost spokesman for religious Zionism, who was deeply involved in promoting labor opportunities in both agriculture and the trades, published an article in Chavatzelet in 1909, sharply critical of the all out attempt to force the acceptance of Jewish laborers into positions on agricultural settlements regardless of their abilities or suitability. He suggests that a combined committee of colonists and fellow workers arbitrate on cases of incompetence or social undesirability, implying that the Jewish employer has every right to discriminate against even a Jewish laborer on the basis of attitude and orientation.⁶³

⁶²Neta Harpaz, p. 225.

⁶³Michael Pines in Chavatzelet, 1909 and in Kitvei Yechiel Michael Pines (Writings...), vol. II, "Binyan Haaretz" (The Building of the Land), Tel Aviv, 1939, pp. 242-250.

his relationship with the settlers, especially in regard to their essential goals of independence and social equality, was unfortunate. In time, these early settlers became not very different from ordinary plantation owners, using cheap hired labor and working for commercial profit.²²

In Europe the 1884 Kattowitz Congress of the Hibbat Zion movement set up the machinery which was to represent Zionist activity in the East until the first World War. Pinsker was elected President at that meeting but although such slogans as "return to the soil" were stressed, the organization became involved in relatively petty issues and was never able to effectively clarify the scope of its activity. One of the many problems besetting the organization was a lack of cohesiveness and wranglings between the orthodox element, the secularists and the cultural Zionists which served to severely limit its contribution toward the Zionist cause.

Whereas there existed in Eastern Europe a deep longing for Palestine and a passionate nationalistic feeling among many Jews, the institutions designed to deal with Palestinian settlements were highly ineffective, and it was only when Zionism became a burning ideal in the West that effective moves were made to turn the dream of the return to Zion into a reality. The Dreyfus trial and scandal of 1894-1898 was that traumatic event which proved to many Western Jews that anti-Semitism was and would forever be a burden and barrier to Jewish emancipation.

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Brenner's ambivalence to the Arab-Jewish question is clearly crystallized in the last passage of the novel where the pacifist grandfather and the young militant orphaned grandson, Amram, stand together symbols of hope and strength. Brenner, although pessimistic and fearful, recognized the more liberal humanistic-optimistic approach vis-a-vis the Arabs, but unwilling to ignore the potentialities for hatred and strife stood torn between the two positions. It is interesting that he has frequently been seen as a major proponent of the liberal tolerant position. Literary critics and leading writers of the generation following Brenner's death chose to read an oft quoted passage written shortly before he died in 1921 as Brenner's central message. In it he depicts a chance meeting between himself and a young Arab boy.

At that moment I blamed myself for the serious fault of not teaching myself Arabic. Here was...an orphan worker ...a young brother! Whether the theory of the scholars is right or not, whether you are related to me by blood or not, in any case responsibility for you rests on me. It was for me to enlighten you, to let you taste human relations...contact between people...from today and through generations...without any precise objective...without any deliberate aim except that of a brother, a friend, and a comrade...

"Goodbye, sir." The lad withdrew from me swiftly seeing that I was troubled and the conversation was over. But in his parting greeting one could see all the same, his great satisfaction that he had been able to engage unexpectedly in a worthwhile conversation with an adult and to speak with as much good sense as an old man uses on these occasions.

"Goodbye, my friend," I whispered and I pondered on about him and me. I continued wandering in the darkness of the evening.¹⁴

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One of the more renowned shomrim (guards) who succeeded in establishing a meaningful relationship with neighboring Arabs was Avraham Shapiro. Episodes illustrating his courage and charisma admirably detail his attitude of egalitarianism and friendship in relation to the Arab community. Obviously in first winning the fearful respect of the Arabs and in subsequently establishing a relationship of understanding and mutuality with them, Shapira had reached a goal which was particularly meaningful to his compatriots.⁷⁸

The Shomrim groups naturally attracted the more adventurous and spirited olim. Often feeling themselves alone in the world, without family ties, they sought to create a unique society of their own. They therefore often drew censure from those who feared that their foolhardy behavior might incur needless Jewish fatalities through reckless accidents amongst themselves, or incite unnecessary conflict with the Arabs.⁷⁹ An important criticism related to their mode of dress and life-style. Attempting to become part of the Palestinian milieu and to establish close ties with the Arab population, they frequently adopted Arab custom and costume, arousing the sensitive awareness of those who feared assimilation and

⁷⁷ Israel Shochat, "Shlichut Vaderech" (The Mission and the Journey), in *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁷⁸ See Moshe Smilansky, "Chavaja Ibrahim" in Bnei Arav, Odessa, 1911, p. 46.

⁷⁹ Alexander Zeid, "Bereishit Haymaim" (At the Beginning), The Book of the Second Aliya, p. 177; Yaari Polenskin, Nili, vol. II, 1937, p. 127.

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Jamal al-Din al-Afghani (1839-1897), the originator of the Pan-Islamic movement, emphasized the acceptability of reason in Islam which accords much dignity to man and to the possibilities of human endeavor. He wrote that since the Islamic world had failed to develop properly because of Turkish misrule, it can only regain its former glory and fulfill its potential if it finds internal unity. Assabiyya, solidarity as expressed in the Pan-Islamic movement, was to al-Afghani the only means by which the Islamic world could ever compete successfully with the West.

Muhammad Abduh (1849-1905), one of al-Afghani's most prominent followers and colleagues, supported a Salafiyya, a recalling of the ways of the ancestors in order to unify all Moslems. For Abduh it represented the most effective method of stripping Islam of dogma and superstition, in order to arrive at a pure Islam which accepted reason and was open to change. Only a purified Islam could conceivably compete with a rationalist and technologically sophisticated West.

For Rashid Rida (d. 1935), one of Abduh's most influential disciples, the only significance of Salafiyya lay in its power to return Moslems to a purer form of worship. The contribution of Abduh and Rashid Rida was essentially in their strong

¹²C. Ernest Dawn distinguishes between different types of reactions to the challenge of Western technology. The conservative Moslem insists that the Islamic world is superior and continues to reject any attempts at Westernization. Some admit to some inferiority in the Moslem world but insist that a return to a purer form of Islam would enable the Moslems to compete with the West. Abduh and other such thinkers insist that Islam must accept the changing world and become part of it. (C. Ernest Dawn, From Ottomanism to Arabism, Illinois, 1973, pp. 122-147.)

on the part of Brenner in the last years of his life.¹⁶ Critics have also attempted to define an evolution in the writings of both Brenner and Rabbi Benjamin as the situation in the yishuv progressed and evolved. The optimistic Rabbi Benjamin became increasingly pragmatic in his thinking as the realities of Arab antagonism to the yishuv became evident. Brenner, on the other hand, whose reaction to the Arabs stemmed largely from disappointment and lack of confidence in the Zionist leadership and in the possibilities for success in the yishuv, became more secure as the years went on and as the number of successful settlements grew. With the realization of the effectiveness and growth of the Zionist endeavor, the Arabs became less threatening to him and he began to more frequently see them in terms of their human needs.¹⁷

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laborer was not overlooked and the unhappy results of Arab unemployment in Palestine was seen as a temporary but necessary stage in the rebirth of the Jewish nation on Palestinian soil.

In relating to labor problems, both in terms of agriculture and guardsmanship, the yishuv was forced to deal with the possible effects and consequences resulting from a policy which created a significant change in terms of Arab involvement in the Jewish community. It was hoped that avodah meorevet (mixed labor), for example, would allow new olim to fully involve themselves fruitfully in the progress of the yishuv creating the delicate balance of Jewish-Arab cooperation which would maintain a peaceful and mutually respectful relationship with their Arab neighbors.

After 1908 shmira ivrit (Jewish guardsmanship) began to prevail, and in combination with the strengthened Arab nationalism, helped to exacerbate Jewish-Arab tensions surrounding the moshavot. Incidents of violence therefore increased in number and intensity in the period after the Young Turk Revolution.

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To the student of Arab history, perhaps the most obvious manifestation of Arab nationalism at its early stage is the rise and success of Mumammad Ali and his son Ibrahim. During Muhammad Ali's political and military career he rose to the position of Pasha of Egypt in 1805, conquered Syria in 1831, and was granted the hereditary title of Pasha of Egypt in 1841. Under his leadership the Egyptian administration became politically, economically, and militarily almost autonomous.

In Syria the earliest forums for discussion of nationalism and related concepts were the Learned Societies of the 1850s. The Society of Arts and Sciences and the Oriental Society were composed primarily of Christian Arabs; the Syrian Scientific Society formed in 1857 included Arabs of all religious denominations. Of this group Antonius says that it was "the first outward manifestation of a collective national consciousness and its importance in history is that it was the cradle of a new political movement."⁵ It was the Secret Society of Beirut (1875), however, which was the first group formed with the explicit purpose of publicizing nationalist thought. Composed originally of Christians, it eventually attracted Moslems and Druze as well. The Placard Society, which seems to have worked in conjunction with the Secret Society, exhibited posters, the authorship of which remained forever unknown, calling the Arab nation to revolution.

⁵Antonius, The Arab Awakening, pp. 51-54.

The construction of the Hijaz railway, the purpose of which was the collection of taxes amongst the Arab population and the elimination of transportation problems for the pilgrimage, also helped strengthen the flow of communication amongst the various Arab nationalist groups. Arabs received excellent military training under German specialists like Colonel Von der Goltz, who was recruited by Abdul Hamid to strengthen the Ottoman military machine. Later these officers took on leadership roles in various battles for independence.¹¹

In regard to the relationship of Arabs to the Young Turks, it is interesting that those Arabs who did join the movement in 1908 did so in terms of their Ottoman citizenship and not as Arab nationalists. They looked forward to a period of equality and democracy under Ottoman rule. When the Young Turks almost immediately after the revolution began to dwell on Turkish nationalism and on Turkish ethnic qualities, many Arabs were forced to develop similar attitudes and to use similar tactics in regard to their own culture and heritage.

As the nineteenth century drew towards its close, the influence of the intellectuals on the Muslim community strengthened in the direction of promoting Islamic and Arab pride and thus inadvertently supporting nationalist activity. Much of the intellectual activity during that period was a response to the challenge of superior Western technology and military

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Tikva and Rechovot.¹⁰ Controversies regarding land ownership were another cause for frequent contention. In Tzfat for example, Jews had bought land belonging to Bedouin who fearing conscription had registered their land in the names of three Arab effendis who then sold it. In Metulla, Druze leasers left their land temporarily and became enraged to find that it had been sold to Jews and settled in their absence. A policy of compensation which was soon adopted helped allay the great hostility which naturally developed between the two communities, on such occasions, but not before violent conflict had ensued.

Most often crimes involving theft and petty vandalism were the signs of a testing period during which the strength and determination of the Jewish settlers were measured. It therefore developed that Jewish settlers preferred to present a harsh facade in their initial encounters with their neighbors in order to alert them that they would be no easy prey to such crimes. Eventually as both communities became accustomed to one another an atmosphere of justice and neighborly cooperation usually developed. Whereas a stance of strength was helpful to Jewish settlers in preventing conflict, it occasionally exacerbated the atmosphere of tension between

¹⁰ Michael Pines, influential yishuv leader, felt that it was necessary for the yishuv to yield on this score. He wrote,

In my opinion our brothers the colonists must accept the custom of land, and if most of the population allows one to pasture on the clear field of others then the settlers must do likewise, so that they won't cause skirmishes with their neighbors, and so that the borders of the settlement will be safer than if one guards them with a strong hand. (quoted in Sefer Toldot Hahagana (The Book of the History of the Haganah), Dinur, ed., Israel, 1954, p. 73.

the Jewish labor issue rationalized the conflicting goals of conquest of labor and the international brotherhood of the proletariat, hoping that the dismissal of the Arab laborer would erase the hostility created by the Jewish employer-Arab employee relationship. The economic boom, which they saw forthcoming in Palestine as a result of the investment of Jewish energies there, would favorably affect the Arab population as well, and both peoples could then live together in peace. Attempts to unite with Arab workers in an effort to coerce employers to improve work conditions ended in failure, as Arabs often simply disregarded negotiations with Jewish labor representatives and willingly returned to work.⁶²

After the revolution in Turkey, in the face of burgeoning Arab nationalism, many Palestinian Jews began to see the problem of Jewish labor as by no means one-sided or clear-cut. Yechiel Michael Pines, foremost spokesman for religious Zionism, who was deeply involved in promoting labor opportunities in both agriculture and the trades, published an article in Chavatzelet in 1909, sharply critical of the all out attempt to force the acceptance of Jewish laborers into positions on agricultural settlements regardless of their abilities or suitability. He suggests that a combined committee of colonists and fellow workers arbitrate on cases of incompetence or social undesirability, implying that the Jewish employer has every right to discriminate against even a Jewish laborer on the basis of attitude and orientation.⁶³

⁶²Neta Harpaz, p. 225.

⁶³Michael Pines in Chavatzelet, 1909 and in Kitvei Yechiel Michael Pines (Writings...), vol. II, "Binyan Haaretz" (The Building of the Land), Tel Aviv, 1939, pp. 242-250.

opposed purchase of land by Jews in the Galil because he feared that the national makeup of the area would change.¹² The population of the yishuv rarely saw these protests as nationalistically oriented, attributing them to the desire to make land scarce in order to raise its price or to ensure the powerful position of the wealthy effendis of the area.

The blatantly nationalistic nature of Arab response to the yishuv after the Young Turk Revolution could not fail to alarm alert settlers in Palestine. Ben Gurion, in his article in Achdut, commented on the rash of violence which had much increased in intensity between 1908 and 1910. He dismissed the analysis of "false prophets" who interpreted the wave of violent crime as a result of the laxity in law enforcement or as the misinterpretation on the part of illiterate masses of the concept of freedom introduced by the revolution. He argued that a nationalist frenzy lay at the root of the new hostility, and suggested that the Jewish community must firmly demand justice and law enforcement on the part of the Turkish authorities.¹³ An obvious but noteworthy result of the increase in violence was a proportional increase

¹²Cohen, p. 59. In an article in Abu-el Hul in 1895, the author applauded the new immigration restrictions and expressed the hope that the Jewish population of Palestine be asked to leave the country. (Assaf, Arab-Jewish Relations, 1860-1948, Jerusalem, 1967.)

¹³Ben Gurion, "Clarifying Our Political Situation," p. 88. This type of nationalist anger was further complicated by the class hostility engendered by the Jewish landlord-Arab employee relationship.

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CONCLUSIONS

The thrust of this thesis has been to investigate and study Arab-Jewish relations in Palestine as expressed in the literature between the beginning of the First Aliyah (1881) and 1908. To which issues regarding Arabs did the literature relate? To what extent was there an awareness of Arab nationalist hopes in Palestine? What potential did Jews see for Arab-Jewish coexistence in the future?

This study attempts to begin to answer these questions using as primary sources the writings and memoirs of Theodore Herzl and Asher Ginzberg, two of the most dominant figures on the European scene who together most forcefully shaped Zionist policy and thought during the period under discussion. The periodical literature and the belle lettres are crucial both in that they expressed the views of the intelligentsia and the literary community in Palestine and in that they had wide impact on the largely literate Jewish community. This study concludes with an in-depth analysis of the "Conquest of Labor" issue as it was expressed in the literature because the labor market was one of the areas of most intimate contact with the Arab community and presented most clearly the potential for competition and conflict.

References to Arabs are few in the works of Theodore Herzl. Because Herzl dealt with Zionist goals in the European

see myself being politically an Arab; I think that if this happens I shall leave Palestine. I had rather die in the Diaspora than die and be buried here in the land of my ancestors if this land is to be regarded as an Arab country in which we are strangers.¹⁸

It is crucial in reading Ahad Ha'am's works that one be aware of the moral standpoint from which he surveyed the Middle Eastern situation, and understand that in each and every protest or condemnation of Jewish or Arab activity in Palestine, the emphasis lay on equal rights and high standards of justice in the relation between nations.

The clearest expression of Ahad Ha'am's views about the relationship between the individual and society and of the moral code which binds men and nations together is contained in his philosophical articles. Together with his critiques of Zionist policy and observations on yishuv life these are collected in the four volumes of Al Parashat Derachim (At the Crossroads).

The purpose of his article entitled "The Transvaluation of Values," written in 1898, was to debate the coterie of young Jews who had adopted the fashionable Nietzschean philosophy and were attempting to apply it to Jewish life. Ahad Ha'am rejected the stereotype of the physical superiority and selfishness in the Nietzschean concept of the "Blond Beast."¹⁹

¹⁸Simon, Ahad Ha'am: Letters, Essays and Memoirs, p. 296. (Letter to L. Simon, Tel Aviv, 1924.)

¹⁹Ahad Ha'am, "The Transvaluation of Values," (1898), in Kahn, p. 168. Ahad Ha'am describes the Nietzschean Superman as "the strong man who has both the power to complete his life and the will to be master of his world without considering at all how much the great mass of inferior beings may lose in the process and the rest (of society) were created only to subserve his end, to be the ladder on which he can climb up to his proper level."

the Jewish labor issue rationalized the conflicting goals of conquest of labor and the international brotherhood of the proletariat, hoping that the dismissal of the Arab laborer would erase the hostility created by the Jewish employer-Arab employee relationship. The economic boom, which they saw forthcoming in Palestine as a result of the investment of Jewish energies there, would favorably affect the Arab population as well, and both peoples could then live together in peace. Attempts to unite with Arab workers in an effort to coerce employers to improve work conditions ended in failure, as Arabs often simply disregarded negotiations with Jewish labor representatives and willingly returned to work.⁶²

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an age of Arab supremacy.

To the student of Arab history, perhaps the most obvious manifestation of Arab nationalism at its early stage is the rise and success of Mumammad Ali and his son Ibrahim. During Muhammad Ali's political and military career he rose to the position of Pasha of Egypt in 1805, conquered Syria in 1831, and was granted the hereditary title of Pasha of Egypt in 1841. Under his leadership the Egyptian administration became politically, economically, and militarily almost autonomous.

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⁵Antonius, The Arab Awakening, pp. 51-54.

great problem facing his people. In 1896 he published The Jewish State (Der Judenstat), a concise statement of the necessity of the founding of the Jewish state as the only means by which to rid both the Jews and the non-Jewish community of the curse of anti-Semitism.²³

Rejected by the wealthy and prestigious Western Jews, Herzl found support and love amongst the masses in England and in Eastern Europe where thousands lined the streets as he drove through their cities. A passionate nationalism elicited by his magnetic appeal and timely message in effect created the Zionist movement. The First Zionist Congress of 1897 was marvelously attended and the number of communities and Zionist-oriented groups and organizations represented grew at each succeeding conference.

During ensuing congresses rifts became apparent between different factions in the Zionist movement. It was divided along both religious and philosophical lines. Ahad Ha'am (1856-1927) represented the spiritual or cultural Zionists who emphasized the need for a spiritual rather than a political home in Palestine. Herzl led the "political Zionists" who insisted that a charter was the one important factor in creating the state. The Hibbat Zion movement represented the "practical Zionists" to whom emigration and working the soil was primary.

It was becoming increasingly clear after 1897 that the various factions were pulling the movement in different

²³For additional details concerning Herzl's Zionist career, see the chapter on Herzl.

by Joshua Ben Moshe, and Yardeni's "Ali"⁵⁴ involve the fatalism of love a la Smilansky.

The Arabization of the Jew is an important theme in the works of several authors in the early period, especially Zeev Yaavetz, the noted romanticist who sought in his stories to recreate in modern Palestine the traditions and milieu of his beloved Biblical period. In "The New Year of the Trees"⁵⁵ and in "Travelling Through the Land"⁵⁶ Arab attire represents the freedom and strength of the earlier period, as well as the key toward peace in Palestine where Arab and Jew could coexist only if the Jew would display courage, strength and zeal. Anxious to reawaken within modern Jewry a recognition and love for its past, Yaavetz finds elements in Arab culture which echo Hebrew Biblical tradition and bear striking resemblance to Orthodox Jewish modes. The crucial role of hospitality within Arab social life for example, immediately conjures the image of the Patriarch Abraham in the minds of Biblically versed Jews. Another note of familiarity is the Arab kaffiya about which Yaavetz remarks:

For it is ancient and is a sister to the "tallit" (prayer shawl) with which our fathers wrapped themselves. From afar when one sees a fellah wrapped in his entire costume, it appears to him as the dress of our brethren on the Day of Atonement (Yom Kippur).⁵⁷

⁵⁴Yardeni, "Ali," Haolam, 1908, no. 26, pp. 349-350.

⁵⁵Zeev Yaavetz, "A New Year of the Trees," Mivchar Hasipur Haaretz Yisraeli (Selected Israeli Stories), Raphael Patai, Jerusalem, p. 18.

⁵⁶Zeev Yaavetz, "Wandering Through the Land," Kovetz Haaretz, Jerusalem, 1891, p. 3.

⁵⁷Ibid.

his relationship with the settlers, especially in regard to their essential goals of independence and social equality, was unfortunate. In time, these early settlers became not very different from ordinary plantation owners, using cheap hired labor and working for commercial profit.²²

In Europe the 1884 Kattowitz Congress of the Hibbat Zion movement set up the machinery which was to represent Zionist activity in the East until the first World War. Pinsker was elected President at that meeting but although such slogans as "return to the soil" were stressed, the organization became involved in relatively petty issues and was never able to effectively clarify the scope of its activity. One of the many problems besetting the organization was a lack of cohesiveness and wranglings between the orthodox element, the secularists and the cultural Zionists which served to severely limit its contribution toward the Zionist cause.

Whereas there existed in Eastern Europe a deep longing for Palestine and a passionate nationalistic feeling among many Jews, the institutions designed to deal with Palestinian settlements were highly ineffective, and it was only when Zionism became a burning ideal in the West that effective moves were made to turn the dream of the return to Zion into a reality. The Dreyfus trial and scandal of 1894-1898 was that traumatic event which proved to many Western Jews that anti-Semitism was and would forever be a burden and barrier to Jewish emancipation.

²²See chapter on Conquest of Labor, p. 118.

to which they are ultimately drawn. The autobiographical elements of the story lie in the several characters who are clearly distinguishable from among Herzl's family, friends, and political opponents, and more importantly in the distinct atmosphere of fin-du-siecle.³⁵

Socially and culturally the society of "Altneuland", as Herzl pictured it, incorporates all that is progressive and elevated in the European environment, including the arts, theater, ballet and opera. European customs and fashions are mimicked fully.³⁶ In regard to language, the most classic gauge of nationalistic affiliation, German is used almost exclusively in daily life, while Hebrew is relegated to religious worship and occasional song. A fascinating but disturbing assumption on Herzl's part is that Jews are singularly uncreative and totally dependent on European culture. Their talent seems to lie only in adapting European cultural accomplishments to their own milieu.

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Russification, especially by poets like Peretz Smolenskin, coincided with the end of the liberal era of Alexander II. Smolenskin likened those who denigrated the Jewish tradition to thieves who rob the Jewish people of both the crutch of nationalism and of religion and are then astounded to see it fall.¹¹ His call was initially only for the return to Jewish pride and became a demand for the return to Palestine only after the pogroms of the 1880s.

Although the history of modern Zionism begins in effect in the late nineteenth century with the development of the Hibbat Zion movement and with Herzl's commitment to the cause, there were earlier in the century cogent and explicit expressions of the Zionist ideal.

Moses Hess, a German born Jew, exiled to France, wrote Rome and Jerusalem in 1862. A man of Bohemian lifestyle and largely non-Jewish involvements, Hess became disillusioned with the quality of the revolutions of 1848. He predated Herzl in his keen understanding of the problem of anti-Semitism and in his arrival at the conclusion that only a land of their own would solve the Jews' problem in Europe. Hess noted the change in the nature of nationalism from the "liberal nationalism" of the Enlightenment era to the "romantic nationalism" which spoke to the national soul and the history of the folk. In the development of "romantic nationalism" it seemed to Hess that the hope of assimilationist Jewry and of the Reform Jewish movement to achieve acceptance and emancipation

¹¹ Peretz Smolenskin, "The Haskalah of Berlin," 1883, quoted in Hertzberg, p. 155.

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ABSTRACT

ATTITUDES OF ZIONIST INTELLECTUALS TO THE ARAB POPULATION IN PALESTINE AS EXPRESSED IN THE LITERATURE BEFORE THE YOUNG TURK REVOLUTION OF 1908

by
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This study describes the attitudes of the Jewish intellectuals in Palestine and Europe to the Arab population in Palestine in the very early period of Zionist activity, beginning with the first Aliyah in 1881 until the Young Turk Revolution of 1908.

Following a brief introduction to the history of Zionism and Arab Nationalism, the works of Theodore Herzl and Ahad Haam are examined, as each provided impetus and leadership in terms of policy and attitudes. The periodic literature and the fiction of the period are then used to provide important insights into the temper of the time, while a discussion of the "conquest of labor" issue serves as a case study of a sensitive point of contact between the two peoples. A short epilogue points out that the 1908 Young Turk Revolution aroused a legitimate concern in the Jewish community about a hostility on the part of an organized and articulate nationalistic Arab community.

This thesis concludes that prior to 1908 Jews had been for the most part able to dismiss lightly the nationalistic flavor of the Arab aspirations in Palestine. Much of their literature therefore expresses a sympathetic and admiring attitude towards their neighbors. The literature also reflects their intuitive reaction

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